

# Quarterly of the California Historical Society

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**Vol. VIII, No. 4**  
**December, 1929**

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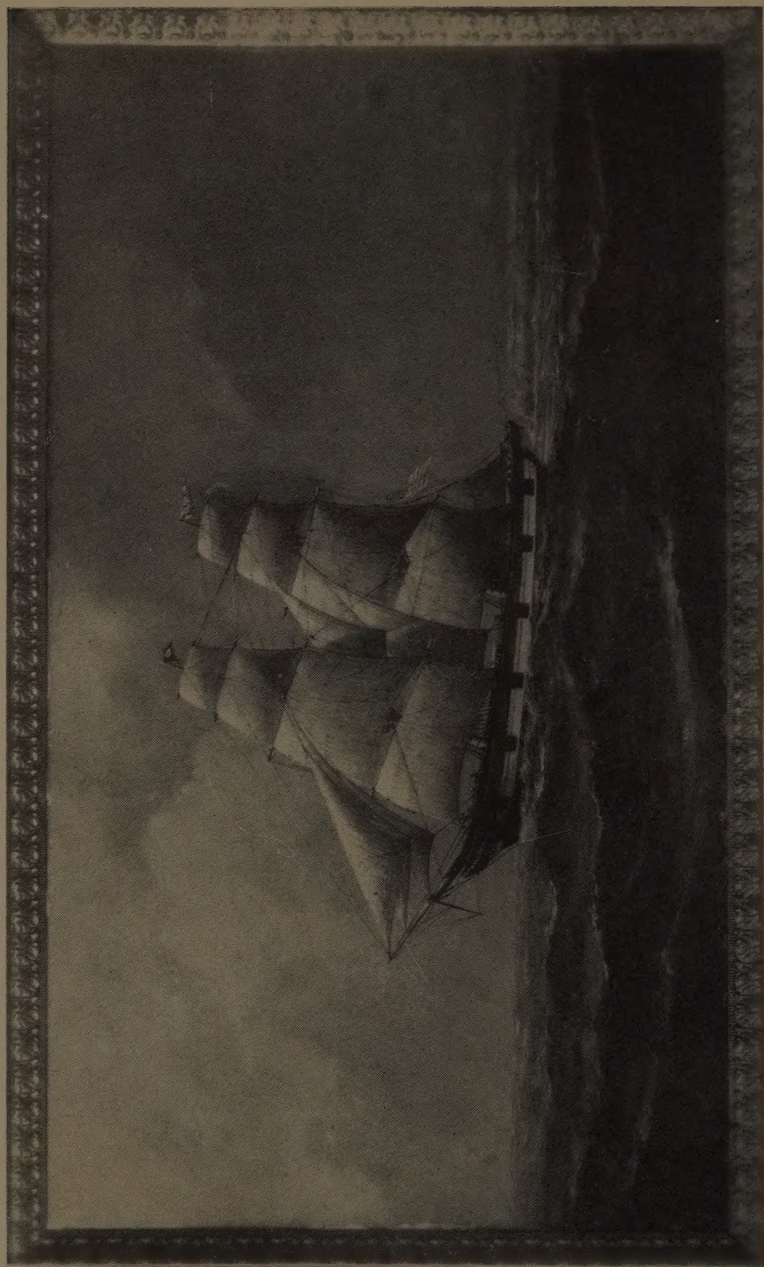
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THE BRIG PILGRIM

From a painting by Captain Frank Thompson, nephew of the Frank Thompson who was master of the brig, in the possession of Dr. R. F. Winchester of Santa Barbara.

## Quarterly of the California Historical Society

### BOSTON HIDE DROGHERS ALONG CALIFORNIA SHORES<sup>1</sup>

Yankee merchants, who would "carry coals to Newcastle, if Newcastle wanted them," early piloted their small but sturdily built ships into the Pacific. These sons of the sea first entered the Northwest Pacific in quest of new markets. Soon a triangular trade developed. From Boston, ships laden with manufactured goods sailed to the Northwest coast; from the Northwest, the seal skin and the black, shiny fur of the sea otter were carried to Chinese shores; and from China, the Yankee vessels returned with Oriental goods to Boston.

#### *I. Bryant, Sturgis and Company, the first Boston Company to trade in California hides and tallow.*

Among the most noted of these merchant pioneers in the Northwest Pacific was William Sturgis, better known as Captain "Bill" Sturgis. Captain "Bill" after several trips to the Pacific joined with John Bryant of Boston to form the trading firm of Bryant, Sturgis and Company.<sup>2</sup> It was this company which sent the first Boston ships to collect the hides and tallow of California.

The attention of Bryant and Sturgis was drawn to California by one of the company's seal hunters, William Gale. For two seasons Gale was with a party of sealers stationed at the Farallon Islands.<sup>3</sup> Daily he clubbed the seals which then inhabited the islands by hundreds. While he was clambering over the cliffs, carrying "as many skins upon my back as I could wag under," he began to think of the possibility of trading directly with California.<sup>4</sup> Gale's thoughts became convictions. He returned to Boston and so enthusiastically described California trade as he had dreamed of it while he was seal monarch of the Farallon Islands that he succeeded in persuading Bryant and Sturgis to fit up the frigate *Sachem*.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This article has been written pursuant to a larger study in the field of California and Pacific Coast commerce. Because of the nature of the documentary material for such a study, it is impossible at one time to follow any single thread of the story to the end. Consequently, this factual account of the activities of the Boston traders along the California coast is incomplete, and is only a summary of what has been found so far concerning one phase of the larger subject of California commerce in sailing vessel days.

All the manuscripts herein cited are found in the Bancroft Library of the University of California. The documentary collections of the correspondence of Fitch, Hartnell, Larkin, Vallejo, and others are filled with letters pertaining to California mercantile affairs. Since commerce with its world ramifications has been a vital force in determining the destiny of our State and of the entire Pacific Coast, it is time for us to examine the records which sailors and merchants have left us as well as those of politicians and overland California pioneers.

<sup>2</sup> Morison, Samuel Eliot, *The Maritime History of Massachusetts, 1783-1860*, p. 69.

<sup>3</sup> Phelps, William, *Fore and Aft*, p. 241.

<sup>4</sup> Robinson, Alfred, *Life in California*, p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, p. 241.



In the spring of 1822 the *Sachem* sailed into Monterey harbor. Only a few weeks before another vessel had put in for the first time at California's port of entry. It was the *John Begg*, consigned by the English firm John Begg and Company of South America to McCulloch, Hartnell and Company. Gale, who came as supercargo of the Boston frigate, was a good salesman but found himself handicapped. As he travelled from mission to mission, the padres informed him that the year's produce had already been contracted for by the recently arrived English merchants, McCulloch and Hartnell. For over a year the *Sachem* remained on the California coast taking on hides, tallow, horns, and beaver skins.<sup>6</sup>

In 1825 Gale, who by this time was known as *cuatro ojos* because of his spectacles, was once again travelling along the California coast. This time he had brought a little seventy-five-ton schooner, the *Spy*, to help in collecting a cargo for the *Sachem*.<sup>7</sup> The progress of *cuatro ojos* may be judged by an extract from a letter written by Hartnell to McCulloch, "Gale will find it very difficult to meet with a cargo as there are at present no hides of any consequence in the country."<sup>8</sup> The Boston merchant offered almost double the rival firm's contract price for hides and tallow, but in the estimation of Hartnell, "nevertheless the greater part will always fall to our share."<sup>9</sup> The padres kept their agreement; the English firm, McCulloch, Hartnell and Company,\* prospered; Gale laboriously collected a cargo until the early part of 1827.

During the five-year period, 1822-1827, Bryant, Sturgis and Company had made little progress in California commerce. Only two cargoes had been taken from the coast. McCulloch, Hartnell and Company, as long as it was in existence and particularly within the duration of the mission contract, had priority of favor among the padres. In 1828, when the rival firm dissolved, the field was clear for the Boston men. For the next two decades Yankee goods were the style, and Yankee traders were always welcome. Bryant and Sturgis, the first of the Boston merchants in California, did a thriving business from 1829 to 1840.

In February of 1829, a four hundred-ton vessel anchored in Monterey Bay. It was the *Brookline* from Boston and carried one of the finest and best selected cargoes ever brought to California shores. The Spanish officials who boarded the vessel a short time after it had anchored were pleased when informed of the variety of goods in the hold, but they had some disappointing news to tell Gale, the supercargo. Since Gale had been on the California coast before, the attempt of the Boston ship *Franklin* to carry on contraband trade and to evade duties

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\*See article, "Hides and Tallow — McCulloch, Hartnell and Company, 1822-1828," by Adele Ogden, in this *Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 3, September, 1927, p. 254 *et seq.*

<sup>6</sup> The *Sachem* on its first trip to California was on the coast until August, 1823. Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *History of California*, Vol. II, p. 492, *ftn.* Also, Robinson, Alfred, *Statement of Recollections*, MS, p. 1.

<sup>7</sup> See marine list, Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. III, p. 149.

<sup>8</sup> Hartnell to McCulloch, Santa Barbara, May 6, 1825; Hartnell Letter-book, MS, pp. 107-110. This book of William Hartnell's business correspondence was deposited in 1925 in Bancroft Library by Anna Zabala and Teresa Zabala of Monterey, California.

<sup>9</sup> McCulloch, Hartnell and Company to John Begg and Company, Monterey, December 3, 1825; *Ibid.*, pp. 156-160.

had resulted in the imposition of commercial restrictions. At only two ports, San Diego and Monterey, were merchants allowed to discharge cargoes.<sup>10</sup>

In a few plain words, Gale told the Monterey authorities that he would leave the coast unless favorable terms were obtained. He immediately wrote of his intention to Governor Echeandía at San Diego. Gale was serious, or at least he began the policy followed by later Boston merchants of successfully creating a dilemmatic situation for the Spaniards — that of choosing between the much-desired Yankee goods and a high revenue. Gale's words were strengthened by action. While a courier was on his way to San Diego, water casks were filled, beef packed, and all things made ready for immediate departure.<sup>11</sup>

Shortly, the courier returned with the governor's answer. A slight concession had been granted. The Boston vessel might enter the port of Santa Barbara. However, Gale read disapprovingly of the provision that he must discharge everything on board at each of the three ports with no reimbursement of duties when goods were unsold and reëmbarked. He decided to try once more. The *Brookline* lifted anchor and sailed directly for San Diego, where Gale decided to interview the governor personally.

The splendid cargo and Gale's persuasion were too much for Echeandía. Gale might trade as he had done before in the five ports of San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Barbara, San Pedro, and San Diego. The entire cargo of the *Brookline* need be discharged only once at San Diego for examination, and duties were to be paid only once. In order that goods might not be received clandestinely from other coast vessels, an officer and two soldiers were put on board.<sup>12</sup> Thus favored, Gale determined to "proceed in the business now sink or swim."<sup>13</sup>

The *Brookline* became a scene of activity. Sailors climbed the masts and took down royal and top-gallant yards. The decks were cleared. Lumber was taken ashore and the ship carpenter began building a large, barn-like structure which was to serve as a combined storehouse, curing shop, and residence.<sup>14</sup> A trade-room with shelves and counters was fitted up on board. When all was ready the ship was visited by the good and much-liked Father Peyri of San Luis Rey and others, all of whom made a number of purchases.<sup>15</sup>

As soon as business had been concluded at San Diego, the ship was sent to San Pedro while Gale and Alfred Robinson, clerk of the *Brookline*, started on horseback up the coast to solicit mission trade. The two traders galloped their horses to San Luis Rey, to San Juan Capistrano, to San Gabriel, and finally to San Fernando. Then over the hills they rode to the port of San Pedro where the *Brookline* was at anchor. Already, the *mayordomo* of San Juan Capistrano and several others were waiting to purchase goods.<sup>16</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, pp. 7-8. Also, Robinson, *Statement*, MS, p. 2.

<sup>11</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 12.

<sup>12</sup> Gale to Cooper, San Diego, March 28, 1829; Vallejo, Mariano Guadalupe, *Documentos para la Historia de California*, MS, Vol. XXIX, No. 336.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 336.

<sup>14</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 15.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 36.



The next morning human activity enlivened the usually quiet harbor of San Pedro. Between shore and vessel plied boats with men, women, and children eager to see Boston goods and inspect the big ship. All was excitement aboard the *Brookline*. Small boats shoved off piled high with boxes and bundles, and larger launches loaded with hides and tallow passed between vessel and shore. Shouting good-naturedly, sailors with stiff hides on their heads plunged through the surf to the launch waiting just beyond the ocean combers. On the beach, Indians stood guard over ox carts. Around bonfires on the sand were groups of individuals awaiting their turn to trade. "Thus the day passed; some departing, some arriving, till long after sunset the low white road leading across the plain to the town, appeared a living panorama."<sup>17</sup>

Sales were fast, much faster than Gale had expected. By May about \$13,000 of goods had been sold to the padres in San Pedro and all points south.<sup>18</sup> Five thousand hides and some tallow were loaded on the *Brookline*. In fact, more produce had been collected than the vessel could take on board until more goods were sold to points farther north.<sup>19</sup> Despite ready sales, Gale was dissatisfied with California trade, mainly because of the large duties of \$31,000 charged him by Mexican customs officers. He hoped to sell the entire cargo by the end of the year and wrote to John Cooper, "if ever I bring another to California, I'll give every one leave to tell me of it."<sup>20</sup>

From San Pedro the *Brookline* sailed to Santa Barbara, while Gale and Robinson rode overland, visiting missions Santa Inez, La Purisima, San Buenaventura, and Santa Barbara. After a short stay the *Brookline* weighed anchor, touched at San Pedro to take on the hides deposited there, and then sailed directly to San Diego. Here all hands turned to unloading and curing hides. Launches rushed in on the crest of the waves. Sailors agilely jumped out, lifted the hides to their heads, and carried them a short distance to piles on the beach. Men splashed around in flats at ebb tide to make secure the hides put in the sea water to soak. Some threw hides into huge vats of concentrated salt water for a second soaking.<sup>21</sup>

After a brief stay of ten days, Gale and Robinson made a second trip up the coast, this time going as far as San Francisco where the *Brookline* cast anchor in July of 1829.<sup>22</sup> Just after Gale had received his trading permit from the governor, he had corresponded with Cooper asking him to make it known in the north that he was trading on the coast and that he would give good prices for hides and tallow. "Tell the Revd Padres they must not forget me," he wrote.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 38.

<sup>18</sup> Gale to Cooper, San Pedro, May 10, 1829; Vallejo, *Documentos*, Vol. XXIX, No. 354.

<sup>19</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 40.

<sup>20</sup> Gale to Cooper, San Pedro, May 19, 1829; Vallejo, *Documentos*, Vol. XXIX, No. 354. Regarding duties, Gale writes in the same letter, "They tacked a most damnable amount of duties on me—to the tune of \$31,000. . . . Duties on cottons alone amounted to over \$17,000."

<sup>21</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 51.

<sup>22</sup> Gale to Cooper, San Francisco, July 19, 1829; Vallejo, *Documentos*, Vol. XXIX, No. 383.

<sup>23</sup> Gale to Cooper, San Diego, March 28, 1829; *Ibid.*, No. 336.



The padres did not forget him. For several weeks the two traders visited the missions in the vicinity of the bay. Back and forth they went, sometimes on horseback and sometimes by launch.<sup>24</sup>

Robinson did not accompany Gale aboard the *Brookline* on the third trip up the coast. Instead, he remained in San Diego in charge of the store. There, he as well as others at "Hide Park," where all the curing was done, became disturbed by the disappearance of the hides staked out to soak. One night an object was seen moving along the surface of the water. It was fired upon and found to be an Indian, who had swum to the hides, returned with them to the shore, and secreted them in the bushes.<sup>25</sup>

Gale spent three months on the coast, returning to San Diego in February of 1830. Collection had been so successful that he believed only one more trip would be necessary to obtain a full cargo.<sup>26</sup> Abandoning the store, Gale and Robinson left for San Francisco. When returning south, they determined to store all unsold goods at Santa Barbara. Arrangements were made to use Mr. Burkes' house.<sup>27</sup> Two weeks were spent in landing produce. While Robinson stayed on at Santa Barbara fitting up a store, Gale made a last trip to San Diego to stow the *Brookline* for the return voyage.<sup>28</sup> It had taken longer to dispatch the vessel than Gale had anticipated. Some of the missions had failed to send him hides as promised.<sup>29</sup> Business was dull in the spring of 1830. Gale wrote to Cooper that "there is no business of any name or nature down this way and I am almost discouraged tho to discourage me is no easy matter."<sup>30</sup> Late that summer one last trip was made up the coast to Santa Barbara. After a few last hides were collected at San Pedro and stowed, the *Brookline* lifted anchor and began the long voyage to Boston.<sup>31</sup>

Enthusiastic over the proceeds from the first trip of the *Brookline*, Bryant, Sturgis and Company determined to send out other vessels. A glance at the untiring activity of those entrusted with the loading of the merchant craft dispatched to the Pacific Coast by this New England firm will explain the interest of the Boston men in California almost two decades before the gold rush. Two vessels, the *California* and the *Plant*, left Boston together in June of 1831.<sup>32</sup> Due to storms and the necessity of putting in at Rio de Janeiro, the *Plant* did not arrive at Monterey until early in 1832, several months after the *California*.<sup>33</sup>

The *Plant* was a small brig sent out to conclude business left by the *Brook-*

<sup>24</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 60.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 70-71.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 71.

<sup>27</sup> Gale to Cooper, Santa Barbara, June 8, 1830; Vallejo, *Documentos*, Vol. XXX, No. 82.

<sup>28</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, pp. 88-89.

<sup>29</sup> Gale to Cooper, Santa Barbara, June 8, 1830; Vallejo, *Documentos*, Vol. XXX, No. 82.

<sup>30</sup> Gale to Cooper, Santa Barbara, June 25, 1830; *Ibid.*, Vol. XXX, No. 87.

<sup>31</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 90. The last record of Gale in California is on August 17, 1830. Gale to Cooper, Santa Barbara, August 17, 1830; Vallejo, *Documentos*, Vol. XXX, No. 112.

<sup>32</sup> Hunnewell to Cooper, Charlestown, Massachusetts, June 2, 1831; *Ibid.*, No. 216.

<sup>33</sup> Robinson, *Life in California*, p. 124.

line. After putting in at the port of entry for the usual inspection of cargo and after a short stay in San Francisco Bay, the brig returned to Santa Barbara. There Robinson, who was now California agent for the Boston company, had collected enough hides and tallow to completely fill the vessel. Stowage continued slowly until finally in the latter part of June the *Plant* started to Boston via the Sandwich Islands.<sup>34</sup>

The *California*, in the meantime, was being loaded by Gale, who had evidently forgotten his repeated assertions that he would never bring another cargo to the Pacific Coast. While this ship was in the south, a small but beautiful and trimly-rigged vessel scudded into the harbor of Santa Barbara. It was the *Roxana*, sent out from Boston to coöperate with the *California*.<sup>35</sup> For one year the Yankee sailors aboard the two vessels were hide-droghing along the coast. Then on a spring day in 1833 the *California* spread sail, and, with chain-plates dragging through the water because of the weight of its cargo, started for Boston.<sup>36</sup>

The *Roxana* with Gale on board was now sent to San Francisco. Robinson, who had gone by land, had everything ready to load on the ship when it arrived. One more trip was made down the coast. While the ship was in the south, hides collected on previous trips were being made ready at Santa Barbara. Returning to the latter place in the early summer of 1833, the *Roxana* was soon stowed and dispatched.<sup>37</sup>

Three vessels of Bryant, Sturgis and Company had been on the coast from 1831 to 1833. According to Davis, the *California* carried a cargo of 40,000 hides, the *Plant* 10,000, and the *Roxana* 10,000.<sup>38</sup>

During the next few years, the business of Bryant, Sturgis and Company exceeded that of any single hide concern ever engaged in California trade. The activity of the Boston firm for those years has been picturesquely described for us by Dana, who came aboard the *Pilgrim* early in 1835. When the *Pilgrim* anchored in Monterey Bay, there were already two other Bryant, Sturgis and Company vessels on the coast. The *California*, which had arrived in March of the previous year, sailed for Boston with a full cargo a few weeks after the coming of the *Pilgrim*. The *Lagoda* was in San Diego making stowage of a cargo which it had been collecting since the latter part of 1833. The brig on which Richard Dana arrived had been sent to California as a tender for the larger vessel, the *Alert*.<sup>39</sup> Before the latter ship arrived in June, the *Pilgrim* had made three trips to San Diego to discharge hides at the curing house. Lack of spare room, due to slow sale of goods, accounted for these frequent trips up and down the coast.

The cry of "sail ho!" on an August day announced the arrival in San Diego of the long-looked-for *Alert*. As it entered the harbor with every sail spread to

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>35</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

<sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 145.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 148.

<sup>38</sup> Davis, William Heath, *Sixty Years in California*, p. 376.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 355.

the wind and with holystoned decks gleaming white in the sun, all those present exclaimed about the fineness of the ship: "Big enough to carry off all the hides in California"; "rail as high as a man's head"; "a crack ship"; "a regular dandy."<sup>40</sup> The stories of its fast sailing and its successful trips to Canton, led all the old "salts" to regard it as a "lucky ship."

While the *Alert* was trading along the coast, the *Pilgrim*, of 155 tons burden, took on cargo for its sister ship. The larger vessel sailed three times to San Diego to discharge hides and tallow.<sup>41</sup> After a stowage was finally begun in March of 1836, it was not long before all was ready for the home voyage. The crew of the *California*, which had just arrived in February, helped in the steev-ing.<sup>42</sup> With all canvas spread the *Alert* set out to sea on May 8, loaded to the bolts of the chain-plates with over 40,000 hides and 30,000 horns.<sup>43</sup> The other two Bryant, Sturgis and Company vessels which were on the coast remained longer. The *Pilgrim* sailed in February of 1837, and the *California* in October of the same year.<sup>44</sup>

The most active period of Bryant and Sturgis trade with California had passed. Only four more vessels were sent by the Boston firm. In the autumn of 1837, the familiar outline of the *Alert* appeared at the entrance of Monterey Bay.<sup>45</sup> The ship took on cargo and traded until June of 1839.<sup>46</sup> Before the *Alert* had sailed for Boston, the *California* made its fourth trip to the Pacific.<sup>47</sup> By October of 1839, from 8,000 to 9,000 hides and from 3,000 to 4,000 *arrobas* of tallow had been landed at San Diego.<sup>48</sup> One year later, the cargo of the *California* was completed.<sup>49</sup> The *Monsoon*, of which Bryant, Sturgis and Company was part owner, arrived in the spring of 1839 and remained on the coast a little over a year.<sup>50</sup> The *Alert* made its third and last trip to California in 1840, arriving in July, one hundred and twenty days from Boston.<sup>51</sup> William Phelps, "Webfoot" of *Fore and Aft*, was captain; Robinson and Mellus saw to the selling of her cargo and the loading for the return trip. The voyage of the *Alert* lasted until December, 1842.<sup>52</sup>

<sup>40</sup> Dana, Richard Henry, *Two Years before the Mast*, p. 189.

<sup>41</sup> A log of the *Alert*, 1835-1836, as made from Dana, is as follows: August 25, in San Diego. First trip up the coast: September 11-October 2, at San Pedro; October 4, to Santa Barbara; October 11, to San Pedro; October 15, in San Diego. Second trip up coast: October 20, at San Juan; October 22, San Pedro; November 1, to Santa Barbara; November 14, to Monterey; December 4, San Francisco; December 27, to Monterey; January 6, to Santa Barbara; February 1, to San Pedro; February 6, in San Diego. Third trip up coast: February 25, at Santa Barbara; March 5, to San Pedro.

<sup>42</sup> Dana, *Two years before the Mast*, p. 313.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 324. Also, Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. IV, p. 101.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>45</sup> Richardson, Guillermo, *Salidas de Buques del puerto de San Francisco, 1837-1840*, MS, p. 16.

<sup>46</sup> Mellus, Francis, *Diary of Affairs on the Coast of California, 1838-1840*, MS, p. 2.

<sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1. Arrived at Santa Barbara, January 5, 1839.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 1.

<sup>49</sup> Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. IV, p. 101.

<sup>50</sup> Davis, *Sixty Years*, p. 16. Also, Douglas, Sir James, "A Voyage from the Columbia to California in 1840," this *Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 105.

<sup>51</sup> Mellus, *Diary*, p. 6.

<sup>52</sup> Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, p. 267. Also, Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. IV, pp. 101, 562.



Political difficulties in California had prevented the speedy dispatch of the *Alert*. In October of 1842 every man on the crew was helping to prepare the ship for the stowage of some 30,000 hides which were on shore at San Diego, when a note arrived from Robinson, the supercargo, telling of the march of Micheltorena from Los Angeles to San Diego. The crew quickly transported stores from hide-house to vessel and bent sails. However, it was impossible to leave before a week because the ballast had to be put in the ship. Defense preparations were made. Some American otter hunters placed their stores on board and helped their fellow countrymen in the frantic effort to embark all the cargo. When about one-half of all hides and tallow were safely in the vessel's hold, another courier arrived informing the tired sailors of the change of Micheltorena's plans as a result of the withdrawal of Commodore Jones from the scene of his precipitate action.<sup>53</sup>

The *Alert* was the last ship sent by Bryant, Sturgis and Company to the Pacific. News came from Boston in the latter part of 1841 that Bryant and Sturgis had discontinued their business with California and had dissolved.<sup>54</sup>

In twenty years, sixteen vessels of Bryant, Sturgis and Company had appeared on the California coast. Exactly the same number of ships had been sent by McCulloch, Hartnell and Company during the five years of that firm's trade. However, number of vessels is not an index of volume of trade. Each Boston vessel carried from four to five times as many hides from the coast as did the ships of McCulloch, Hartnell and Company. This was due to several factors.

The average tonnage of the Boston vessels was double that of McCulloch, Hartnell and Company vessels. Ships of the Boston firm had a burden of from three hundred to four hundred tons and an average capacity for about 40,000 hides, while those of the English company were of from one hundred to two hundred tons burden with stowage room for 10,000 hides. Then, too, much more was known about stowing a vessel than in the pioneer days of the hide and tallow trade when a good stevedore was at a premium along the California coast. Furthermore, valuable lessons had been learned in regard to the length of charter parties. It was practically impossible to collect and cure a complete cargo for even a small two hundred-ton vessel in sixty days, which was the average number of "lay days" allowed McCulloch, Hartnell and Company vessels. The Boston ships planned to remain on the coast from one and one-half to two years.

The total number of hides exported by Bryant, Sturgis and Company from 1822 to 1842 approximated 500,000, and of that total almost four-fifths was exported in the ten-year period, 1830-1840. These figures, considering the number of other concerns and individuals collecting the limited number of California hides, attest the activity of Bryant, Sturgis and Company.

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<sup>53</sup> Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, pp. 261-262.

<sup>54</sup> Vincent to Fitch, Boston, October 19, 1841; Fitch, Henry Delano, *Documentos para la Historia de California*, No. 181. Also, Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, p. 267.

## II. Boston hide trade from Bryant, Sturgis and Company to the California gold rush.

From the time when Bryant, Sturgis and Company discontinued business in California until the gold rush, three groups of Boston capitalists sent ships to California. J. B. Eaton and Company sent three vessels to the coast, the *Tasso*, the *Sterling*, and the *Moscow*. B. T. Reed and other lesser investors established a systematic trade in which Larkin became personally interested. The *California* and *Vandalia*, of 422 tons and 491 tons burden, respectively, were alternately consigned to William Howard, agent of Reed in California. Appleton and Company used three vessels in the Pacific Coast trade, the *Barnstable*, the *Admittance*, and the *Tasso*. Mellus was the company's agent in California.

The *Tasso*, the first vessel of J. B. Eaton and Company, arrived in 1841. The voyage of the *Tasso* (1841-1844) was not a financial success. Mr. Eaton sent no cash, and since it was his first venture in California he had no debtors along the coast. Consequently, duties had to be paid with part of his cargo, which was ill-adapted to the California market.<sup>55</sup> The *Tasso* was followed by the *Sterling*, which made a two-year stay (1844-1846), and by the *Moscow*. Phelps was given full charge of both ships.<sup>56</sup> A large share of the cargo of the *Moscow* was purchased by the men of Frémont's battalion.<sup>57</sup>

The first vessel sent by B. T. Reed to the Pacific was the *California*, purchased from Bryant, Sturgis and Company. It remained on the coast from 1842 to 1844. Promptly in the spring of the following year it arrived again in Monterey. Howard dispatched it early in 1846 with a cargo of 30,500 hides.<sup>58</sup> In the interim between the two visits of the *California*, the *Vandalia* brought a large assortment of goods to the coast. A few months prior to the sailing of the *California* in 1846, it left with about 34,000 hides.<sup>59</sup>

In 1845 Thomas Larkin decided to invest his personal funds in the Boston trade of Reed. Through Mr. Howard, Larkin made arrangements to ship to Boston hides delivered in California at two dollars and twenty-five cents. The proceeds from the hides, after freight and commission had been deducted, were to be invested in another cargo. Larkin's Boston funds, advanced by Reed at six per cent, were to be used for the original investment of \$10,000 in the Reed vessel to be sent in the fall of 1845.

Larkin had foresight. He intended to invest all the profits from the 1846 voyage and the funds from his California business in the next vessel of Reed to come in 1847. He even proposed, in case the first venture was profitable, to go

<sup>55</sup> Larkin to Rogers or Giles, Monterey, June 18, 1846; Larkin, Thomas Oliver, *Documents for the History of California*, Vol. IV, No. 162.

<sup>56</sup> Phelps came out on the *Moscow* and was given charge of the *Sterling* as well as his own vessel because of the illness of Vincent, the master, and because of the inefficiency of Park, the supercargo, of the former vessel. Howard to Larkin, San Diego, January 25, 1846; *Ibid.*, No. 28. Also, Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, p. 277. Larkin states that Parks "drank, paid little attention to the cargo and remained from the ship for weeks at a time." Larkin to Vincent, Monterey, April 15, 1845; Larkin, *Documents*, Vol. III, No. 109.

<sup>57</sup> Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, pp. 291-292.

<sup>58</sup> Howard to Larkin, San Diego, January 25, 1846; Larkin, *Documents*, Vol. IV, No. 28.

<sup>59</sup> Larkin to Shaw, Monterey, May 30, 1845; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 171.

to Acapulco and from there to either Mexico or San Blas to purchase from \$5,000 to \$10,000 of Mexican goods. The latter he intended to put on board with the New England commodities. He believed that the Californians with a mixed cargo from which to choose would patronize Reed vessels more than those of his Boston competitors.<sup>60</sup> Larkin in making his proposition pointed out that the influence and patronage which he already had established in the course of his business at Monterey would be of advantage to any business agreement which was made.

Reed's response was encouraging. The Boston merchant agreed to sell Larkin's hides, charging fifty cents each for freight and two and one-half per cent for commission.<sup>61</sup> In 1845, even though collections for the year were difficult, Larkin shipped to Reed about 1,500 hides by the *Vandalia*, and 2,251 by the *California*.<sup>62</sup> Thus far Larkin's plans had worked out.

As Larkin was thinking of the profit he would make from his investment, he received disappointing news. Reed had decided not to send a fall vessel to California.<sup>63</sup> Not to be checked in his plans, Larkin wrote to the manager of his finances in Boston and gave him detailed directions for the fitting out of a ship for the coast.<sup>64</sup> Nothing, however, seems to have come of these last plans of Larkin.

Appleton and Company, a third Boston company to trade in California hides after Bryant, Sturgis and Company, sent a vessel to the coast annually from 1842 to 1846. The *Barnstable*, after a stay of a little over a year, departed with 31,800 hides and 80,000 horns.<sup>65</sup> It made two other trips to the coast for Appleton and Company in 1844 and 1846. The *Admittance*, a five-hundred-ton vessel, remained on the California coast for almost three years (1843-1846) and finally left with 33,500 hides.<sup>66</sup> The *Tasso*, which had been sold by Eaton and Company to Appleton and Company, in 1845 carried a choice and varied cargo selected in New York by Robinson, who was part owner of all the company vessels sent to California.<sup>67</sup>

### III. Boston-California hide and tallow trade via the Hawaiian Islands.

An important phase of the Boston-California hide and tallow trade was carried on by Boston merchants established in business in the Hawaiian Islands. Although the Hawaiian merchant was much interested in the fur of the sea otter, he also took bullock hides and tallow aboard his vessel.

<sup>60</sup> Larkin to Reed, Monterey, June 18, 1845; *Ibid.*, No. 195. The arrangements of the Larkin investment are found in the above letter and also in Larkin to Giles, Monterey, March 6, 1846; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 63.

<sup>61</sup> Reed to Larkin, Boston, October 13, 1845; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 325.

<sup>62</sup> In June of 1845 Larkin had delivered to Howard 1,500 hides for the *Vandalia*. From his store collections he hoped to get more by November. Larkin to Reed, June 18, 1845; *Ibid.*, No. 195. For the *California's* cargo see, "Account sales of hides received per Ship *California*," Boston, September 1, 1846; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 276.

<sup>63</sup> Larkin to Reed, Monterey, November 30, 1845; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 365.

<sup>64</sup> Larkin to Everett, Monterey, June 17, 1846; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 161. Also, Larkin to Rogers or Giles, Monterey, June 18, 1846; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 162.

<sup>65</sup> Hatch to Larkin, San Diego, December 13, 1844; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 394.

<sup>66</sup> Jones to Larkin, San Diego, January 24, 1846; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 27.

<sup>67</sup> Robinson to Larkin, Boston, July 25, 1844; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 148.



The Hawaiian Islands were a Venice of the Pacific. Many were the ocean furrows ploughed to and from this entrepot of trade. Hither came ships from New England and ships from the Orient. Yankee and Chinese goods were then stowed together in the same hold and borne to California, to the Northwest Pacific, or perhaps to Mexico or South America. Back the vessels sailed to the island mart with mixed cargoes of hides, tallow, and sea-otter fur. Sometimes they were restowed with an exclusive cargo of hides and sent directly to Boston; sometimes the hides were transferred to a Boston-bound vessel. A few Sandwich Island merchants traded in California hides and tallow directly with Mexico and South America. Frequently tallow was collected and sold along the California coast to some of the South American traders in exchange for hides.

In the mind of a Californian there was a great distinction between an Islander and a man direct from Boston. In truth, the transplanted Boston merchant of Hawaii was different. His activities along the California coast are another story, which we shall dismiss here with the above generalized account and with the mere listing of the Hawaiian commercial companies and merchants who were drawn across the Pacific by the bovine lodestone—Eliab Grimes and Company, Henry Paty and Company, Peirce and Brewer, John C. Jones, A. B. Thompson, William French, William Hinckley, and S. H. Williams.

#### IV. Reasons for the discontinuance of Boston-California trade.

Three reasons may be ascribed to the final ending of the Boston hide trade with California—the Boston hide market, the California political situation, and the gold rush. The first two causes deterred and discouraged trade relations from 1844 to 1848. After 1848, the arduous life of hide droghing was readily given up for a supposedly easier and quicker path to wealth—mining.

Hides in the latter part of 1843 were selling in Boston at from eleven cents to twelve cents a pound, and sometimes even at thirteen cents.<sup>68</sup> Upon this market, there was dumped in 1844 the cargoes of three California vessels, the *Barnstable* of Appleton and Company, the *Tasso* of Eaton and Company, and the *California* of Mr. Reed. Hawaiian vessels brought hides which further increased the over-supply. Immediately prices were down. The owners of the *Tasso* stored their cargo, hoping the price slump was only temporary.<sup>69</sup> However, they were finally forced to dispose of it the following year for nine and three-fourths cents per pound. The voyage of the *Tasso* according to Everett did not "pay simple interest to say nothing of insurance."<sup>70</sup> The *Barnstable* came to the same low market. Finally in the latter part of 1845, its hides were sold in New York for ten cents per pound.<sup>71</sup> In September of 1844 the *California* was still tied up at a wharf in Boston, its cargo unsold. The price of hides was from ten cents to ten and three-fourths cents per pound.<sup>72</sup> Not until June of

<sup>68</sup> Robinson to Larkin, New York, December 30, 1843; *Ibid.*, No. 49.

<sup>69</sup> Robinson to Larkin, New York, June 30, 1844; *Ibid.*, No. 132.

<sup>70</sup> Everett to Larkin, Boston, March 23, 1845; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 79.

<sup>71</sup> Reed to Larkin, Boston, November 10, 1845; *Ibid.*, No. 325.

<sup>72</sup> Robinson to Larkin, New York, September 28, 1844; *Ibid.*, Vol. II, No. 210.

1846 were the hides aboard the *California* disposed of, and then only for nine and five-eighths cents per pound.<sup>73</sup>

A little computation will show why the Boston merchants were losing when selling prices dropped to nine and three-fourths cents per pound. Hides were purchased in California for two dollars cash or two dollars and twenty-five cents in goods. An average California hide weighed twenty-five pounds. A purchasing price per hide of two dollars or two dollars and twenty-five cents and a selling price of two dollars and forty-four cents did not leave a sufficient margin to take care of the expenses of a two or three years sailing trip to the Pacific Coast. It is not surprising, therefore, to find hints in the business correspondence from 1844 to 1846 of the possible discontinuance of commerce in that part of the world. Rumors circulated that Appleton and Company had withdrawn from the California trading field, but the latter company continued to send its annual spring vessel in 1845 and 1846. However, the yearly merchantman of Eaton and Company did not appear in 1845, nor did one come in 1846 from Mr. Reed.

By 1846 an additional factor caused Boston merchants to be wary in making trade ventures to California. The political status of the region was too uncertain to risk sending ships. The Boston correspondence of the period contains many expressions of the concern felt by New England merchants for the future destiny of the Pacific coast.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>73</sup> Reed to Larkin, Boston, June 29, 1846; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 181.

Jones wrote to Larkin in 1846 that "Mr. Reed told me a few days since that his concern would make a most losing business, they are all sick of the hide business, there are now in this country (it is calculated) more than will be consumed in the next four years." Jones to Larkin, Boston, September 26, 1846; *Ibid.*, No. 296.

<sup>74</sup> The letters written during this period by Boston traders to California merchants always contained some reference to the California political situation. A few extracts follow.

John H. Everett, supercargo of the *Tasso*, 1841-1844, wrote to Larkin about the difficulties of the United States with Mexico, "We at the north . . . only care so far as commerce may be concerned, as some fear exists that others may fit out privateers under Mexican colors. Should fighting actually commence, I fear we shall not be content with Texas alone but take in California . . ." September 15, 1845, Boston; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 290.

B. T. Reed's letters to Larkin show the effect of the times upon Boston-California commerce. Reed wrote on October 13, 1845, as follows: "Mr. Howard will inform you that owing to the uncertain state of political relations with Mexico and constant and contradictory reports which we get of the state of affairs in California, the gentlemen interested with me in the ships *Vandalia* and *California* have concluded not to dispatch a ship this fall to the coast." *Ibid.*, No. 325. In June of the following year he wrote again, "In the present unsettled state of our relations with Mexico it is out of the question to send a ship and cargo to your part of the world." *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 181. In October of 1846, Reed wrote that he desired to send a vessel to the coast but that "in a state of war as at present it is impossible to say what we shall do." *Ibid.*, No. 302.

Samuel Hastings on November 9, 1845, wrote to Larkin: "I should judge from your letter that things were in a very unsettled state in California at any rate that is the opinion here and the people engaged in the trade as near as I can find out will not send any more vessels until all the old voyages are wound up. . . ." He offered some advice to Larkin, "Carry on your business exactly as you would if you had been in Texas 10 years since and knew at that time things would turn out as they have. . . . eventually you will have another revolution like 1836, with this exception instead of setting the Mexican ensign it will either be an American one or a new one and American agents and American capital will be at the bottom of it. You have no idea of the feeling there is with regard to California and Oregon . . ." *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 570.

### V. *Characteristics of Boston-California trade.*

Boston goods, merchants, and trading methods and policies were somewhat different from those of other traders in California.

Varied goods, both necessities and luxuries, are listed in the manifests and merchant accounts of the Boston men. Quantities of textiles were sold, of all colors and materials ranging from prints, drilling, ticking, and calico to silks and velvets. Wearing apparel was listed—articles of common wear, such as stockings, boots, shoes, and trousers; and articles donned for festive occasions, such as silk ribbon, silk cravats, silk-embroidered shawls and scarfs, fancy aprons, and handkerchiefs. The Boston men sold household necessities—spoons, forks, knives, plates, tumblers, crockery ware, and kettles; needles, buttons, and thread; and coffee, sugar, and pepper. The California masculine population purchased spades, trowels, rope, varnish, paint, linseed oil, saws, iron hoops, nails, and window glass.

An outstanding characteristic of Boston traders in California was their keen feeling of competition toward each other. Although fellow-countrymen and friends on the Atlantic coast, they had no interest in the successful termination of Pacific commercial voyages other than of their own. Evidence of this non-coöperative and even antagonistic feeling among New England merchants was the attitude shown in the case of the *Sterling*. Captain Vincent was ill. Parks, supercargo, because of drunkenness and inattention was neither selling nor collecting. In such a situation not one of the numerous Boston men on the coast came forward to render any assistance.<sup>75</sup> Rivalry was especially manifest among supercargoes. Mellus, agent for Appleton and Company, and Howard, agent for Reed, were strong competitors. Howard seems to have been the superior salesman. He had the ability of selling more and at higher prices than other traders. In Larkin's opinion, "Should Mr. Howard continue to have cargoes sent out to him I think he will obtain a very large share of the California trade."<sup>76</sup>

Boston merchants were also marked because of the interesting Spanish nicknames given them by native farmers who could not pronounce the English names. Gale had several appellations, "*cambalase*" (barterer), "*cuatro ojos*" (four-eyes), "*tormenta de nombre y tormenta de hecho*" (torment in name and deed), the latter referring to his purchasing and selling activity. Spence was known as "*el calvo*" (the bald-headed one), and Cooper as "*el manco*" (the one-handed one).<sup>77</sup> These names appeared on the account books of the padres. For example, "*cuenta abierta con el cuatro ojos*" (account opened with four-eyes).

After a few years in the Pacific, the Boston men adopted certain policies for trading in California. They soon learned that the sending of transient ships to the coast did not pay. Californians came to depend upon the yearly arrival of

<sup>75</sup> Larkin in justifying his interference upon this occasion wrote, "I was perfectly aware that your opponents in trade altho your country-men and townsmen had no interest in the successful termination of the *Sterling's* voyage." Larkin to Vincent, Monterey, April 15, 1845; *Ibid.*, No. 109.

<sup>76</sup> Larkin to Robinson, Monterey, May 8, 1845; *Ibid.*, No. 150.

<sup>77</sup> Alvarado, Juan Bautista, *Historia de California*, MS, Vol. II, p. 77.



Boston goods. If a company vessel arrived either late in the season or not at all, the rival firm had the advantage for that season and the preference in the following season.<sup>78</sup> Hence, all of the Boston firms planned to have a ship on the coast at a certain time every year. In January or February everyone was on the lookout for the appearance of a Boston sail in the offing. A second vessel was sent out before the first had left California, or the first returned to Boston early enough to make a return trip. Larkin realized to the fullest the importance of having a ship sent every year. Consequently, when he received notification that Reed had decided not to send any in 1846, he expressed keen disappointment. He knew that Mellus, agent for Appleton and Company, would have the run of the coast that season, and furthermore Reed would "have a gap made in his customers difficult to make up with a vessel in '47."<sup>79</sup>

Another general mercantile policy was the carrying on of business by the long-term credit system. At first all was well. The padres always paid their bills. Robinson had from \$200,000 to \$300,000 in goods trusted to the missions.<sup>80</sup> In the later stages of the Boston trade, however, when the merchants began to deal with individual ranchers, the policy of credit did not work. After deeply obligating himself to one trader, a farmer would turn around and sell to another the produce which should have been applied to meet his first liabilities.<sup>81</sup> This credit difficulty was later remedied somewhat by the beginning of a kind of wholesale trade with resident merchants. The latter would collect hides and tallow at their stores from the surrounding ranchers and would exchange them with the Boston men for goods direct from the ships.

One of the best-known of the California wholesale merchants was Larkin, who particularly favored Boston trade. He had a large store in Monterey and put Josiah Belden in charge of a branch business house at Santa Cruz.<sup>82</sup> The ranchers would usually bring from one to three hides at a time to Larkin's store. They would throw the hides in the back yard and would then receive two dollars in goods for each hide. This method of trade was used for some time. Then Larkin discovered that his pile of hides was not much larger at the end of the day than it had been in the morning, although a number of farmers had brought hides to the store during the day. Upon investigation, he discovered that he had been buying the same hide several times. Some rancher would help himself to a few in the back yard, and then nonchalantly sell them over again.<sup>83</sup>

To prevent such occurrences, regulations were made requiring that all hides

<sup>78</sup> Larkin to Reed, June 18, 1845; Larkin, *Documents*, Vol. III, No. 195. Also, Larkin to Rogers or Giles, Monterey, June 18, 1846; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 162.

<sup>79</sup> Larkin to Reed, Monterey, November 30, 1845; *Ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 365. Larkin continued, "The plan of Appleton & Co. having a vessel arrive every January or February is a well devised one and must go before any transient vessel tho 2 supercargoes may in opposition send home over 50,000 hides pr. year."

<sup>80</sup> Robinson, *Statement*, p. 3.

<sup>81</sup> Douglas, "A Voyage from the Columbia to California in 1840," this *Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, No. 2, p. 107.

<sup>82</sup> Larkin had his petition for land upon which to build a commercial house in Monterey granted early in 1835. Vallejo, *Documentos*, Vol. XXXI, No. 164.

<sup>83</sup> Belden, Josiah, *Statement of Historical Facts on California*, MS, p. 67.

be branded before being sold. New difficulties ensued. The carefree ranchers would forget to brand the hides which they brought. They would promise to come later to do it, but such promises were rarely kept.

Belden once had on hand a large number of unbranded hides. In order to complete a contracted shipment, it was necessary to use them. The only thing to do was to transport them to the beach without the knowledge of the alcalde. About daylight one morning, the hides were loaded on carts. Belden locked up his store and left. The hides arrived at the waters edge without mishap, but the ship was not in sight! The hides were hastily piled underneath a bank and covered with lumber.

The alcalde, in the meantime, had heard about the hides and hastened to the beach, "mad as could be." Belden tried to appease him by telling him that since the captain of the ship wanted to be off early he could not wait to have the hides inspected. He then turned the alcalde over to the supercargo who found some pretense to take him to Santa Cruz Mission. While the alcalde was thus occupied, the hides were taken from under the lumber and safely stowed on board. As Belden naively put it, "There was no penalty for shipping them without his supervision if we could manage to do so."<sup>84</sup>

With respect to the payment of duties, Boston merchants had an advantage over other traders in California. Because of the greater variety and usually greater size of their cargoes, they could exact special privileges from the chameleon California authorities. A Boston man always managed to pay less than the legal duties by merely hinting that he might leave the coast. As Larkin wrote to Reed, "This government has always had and continues to have a strong partiality for Boston vessels as from them they have received the best goods, greater variety, fair treatment, larger amount of duties and less smuggling than from some other vessels."<sup>85</sup>

Many subterfuges were attempted by the Boston men to avoid payment of duties. Stores for the journey were usually two or three times what could possibly be consumed because duties were not imposed upon this type of cargo, and the surplus might be sold. The manifest was made out for the Columbia River, or for any market other than California. Arrived on the coast, the vessel was brought to anchor outside the harbor. Then, to the custom-house officers who boarded it, the supercargo offered up one of the many stock excuses for putting in. Sometimes it was merely for news, sometimes it was for wood and water, or the ship might be in distress. Often the vessel came to bring private letters, although "public letters are better."<sup>86</sup> If the port authorities accepted the statements of the supercargo, in order to keep the supposed chance vessel from departing to another market, they would offer special inducements. Even in case some official should be inflexible, as Larkin wrote, "if nothing is gained, nothing will be lost by the plan."<sup>87</sup>

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 31.

<sup>85</sup> Larkin to Reed, Monterey, June 18, 1845; Larkin, *Documents*, Vol. III, No. 195.

<sup>86</sup> Larkin to Rogers or Giles, June 18, 1846; *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, No. 162.

<sup>87</sup> *Ibid.*

The best and most experienced of the Boston traders always planned to have sufficient cash on hand to pay the impost finally demanded. Otherwise, a good share of the cargo would go in payment. It was especially necessary that first vessels bring cash, since the owners or supercargo would not have government accounts which might be drawn upon in paying duties.

The usual practice of Hawaiian-Boston merchants to escape payment of customs was to sell a small part of the total cargo to a naturalized Mexican resident and then place the vessel under Mexican colors. Many of the Hawaiian merchants regularly contrabanded and did it successfully even with the knowledge of port officials. On the other hand, the integrity of the traders coming directly from Boston was rarely questioned by government authorities. Their clever policies removed the necessity of resorting to the contrabandism practiced by the Boston-Hawaiian merchants. Only once was Robinson's honesty questioned. When Ramírez, the newly appointed administrator of the custom-house, saw that an apparently unclassified article "*Idem*" appeared frequently on the manifest, he officiously announced that he would allow no underhanded displacing of goods such as that.<sup>88</sup>

As soon as arrangements had been made in regard to duties, the supercargo and his assistant set out on horseback along the coast. With books of samples and lists of the ship's cargo, they visited each mission and solicited trade. A novel scheme was resorted to by Robinson and Gale when they first came to California. The two men would pretend to be rivals. Gale, who was the better salesman, would go first. After the padres had made a generous order, Robinson, who was personally very much liked, would arrive and smilingly present his list.<sup>89</sup>

While supercargo and assistant were travelling on land, soliciting trade with padre, *ranchero*, and store dealer, a company vessel was sailing up and down the coast, putting in at the depots along the coast for the double purpose of trading and collecting. Each vessel was fitted up with a trade-room. On the shelves and counters were placed the lighter goods and samples of the rest of the cargo. Trading days were gala times. Dressed in their best, people came from miles around and waited patiently in the beach for a chance to be rowed to the big vessel. Often, however, as Dana tells us, the only purchase would be a paper of pins.<sup>90</sup>

For the sailor, trading day was not a holiday. For him it meant rowing a boat back and forth from shore to ship, or walking barefoot over sharp, slippery stones and through ocean breakers to take heavy, stiff hides from the beach to the long-boat beyond the combers. Perhaps he had to throw hides down from the edge of a high cliff, or perhaps he rolled cargo up a steep embankment to the waiting ox-carts. All this the sailor must do many times and in many places along the coast before collecting a cargo of 40,000 hides. Sometimes, extra trips had to be taken to San Diego, where hides were finally prepared for shipment,

<sup>88</sup> Osio, Antonio Maria, *Historia de la California*, MS, pp. 357-358.

<sup>89</sup> Davis, *Sixty Years*, p. 370.



just because of lack of space to take on more, due to slow sales of goods. For that reason Boston firms often sent small tenders to the coast. Sometimes, because of a poor season or because of competition, hides could be picked up only in exasperatingly small lots. Phelps gives us an idea of the magnitude of the task of collecting cargo from the scattered points along the California coast. "We were seven times at San Francisco, thirteen at Monterey, three at Santa Cruz, four at St. Louis, seventeen at Santa Barbara, seventeen at San Pedro, five at Refugio, and returned to our depot ten times, frequently anchoring at various other places along shore."<sup>91</sup>

The "depot" to which Phelps referred was San Diego. The dreamy pueblo awoke when a vessel cast anchor in the bay. Sailors, shouting to each other began to discharge rough, uncured hides and tallow from the gangways. Boats were rowed to the shore and the hides were either carried into one of the hide-houses or piled on the beach. Pickling by soaking in strong brine was begun. Later, there were the tasks of drying and cleaning. When the last trip was made to the southern depot, the crew to a man turned out to thoroughly clean out, smoke, overhaul, and finally stow the vessel.

Ensigns of various nations floated from the masts of the merchant sailing craft which appeared along the California coast from 1820 to 1848. English from South America and from the Columbia River; New England men from Boston and from the Hawaiian Islands; Russians from Sitka; Mexicans, South Americans — all piloted their vessels into California waters to offer goods in exchange for hides, tallow, horns, soap, sea-otter skins, wheat, and lumber. Of all the traders the Boston merchant was, without doubt, the most popular. Whether he came with goods direct from the New England coast, or whether he sailed across the Pacific from the Hawaiian Islands with a mixed Chinese-Boston cargo, the Boston man was given the preference over other traders.

Hide droghing was not an easy life. The New England merchant, with true Yankee grit and energy, caused all man-made commercial restrictions to be removed, disregarded the natural difficulties and strenuousness of trafficking along the California coast, and thus succeeded in making the hide and tallow trade a sound and systematic business enterprise. Alfred Robinson expressed the attitude of the Boston merchants in a letter which he wrote to friends in California after he was comfortably fixed in New York. "Although this is or may seem luxurious compared to a California life, still I think I should rather have the excitement of hides and tallow."<sup>92</sup>

ADELE OGDEN.

<sup>90</sup> Dana, *Two Years before the Mast*, p. 85.

<sup>91</sup> Phelps, *Fore and Aft*, p. 268. Phelps had some difficulty in collection, because of the political situation in California at that time.

<sup>92</sup> Robinson to Larkin, New York, June 30, 1844; Larkin, *Documents*, Vol. II, No. 132.

## DUHAUT-CILLY'S ACCOUNT OF CALIFORNIA IN THE YEARS 1827-1828\*

*Translated from the French by Charles Franklin Carter*

(CONTINUED)

### XVI

*General glance at the two Californias. — Pearl fishing. — Customs of the people of Upper California. — Property. — California soldiers. — Indians of Upper California. — Their features. — The rancherías. — Poisoned arrows. — Manner of making sure of the strength of the poison. — Sorceresses. — Religion. — Indian preachers. — Fruitless efforts.*

The depicting of the manners of a people can excite a true curiosity only in two cases: first, when the people, the object of the description, are almost unknown, and their customs, compared to ours, are strange, bizarre, extraordinary. The attraction of the narrative arises then from the contrast presented to the imagination: here, art is useless; the simple observation of the facts is enough to make the account of interest; this is, furthermore, the part of voyages which has always met with the most attention.

There is another circumstance when this subject becomes an inexhaustible source of interest; this is when it deals with a civilized nation, a rival, particularly, in power, wealth and manners. But in that case it is no longer the swift navigator who ought to undertake this task; it belongs to the historian. The voyager can easily be wise as a Humboldt, interesting as a Cook, light and amusing as an Arago; he cannot easily be an historian like a Rollin, a well informed

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\*Duhaut-Cilly's works are catalogued under *Bernard* by the Library of Congress, and information from that institution, as well as from the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, discloses that the author's patronimic was indeed originally "Bernard Duhaut-Cilly" (*Revue des Provinces de l'ouest*, Nantes, 1853) or, perhaps more correctly, "Bernard du Haut Cilly" (*Repertoire générale de bio-bibliographie bretonne*, Rennes, 1889). It became the custom, however, to call the members of the family Duhaut-Cilly only, as we see our author wrote it on his title page, while keeping Bernard as a middle name.

From the first of the two French articles in the works noted above, a photostat copy of which was sent to the translator, it appears that our traveler, Auguste Bernard Duhaut-Cilly was born at St. Malo, March 26, 1790. When only seventeen he began his career at sea, took part in the battle of Grand Port in 1810, and in 1813 against the English frigate *Amelia*. (An elder brother, Malo Bernard Duhaut-Cilly, two years his senior, was with him on the same ship in this battle.) When peace was declared, Duhaut-Cilly left the navy to become a captain in the merchant marine, and after various expeditions to the French colonies, to Brazil, Havana, and Buenos Aires, he took command of the *Héros* in which he made his memorable *Voyage*. This long trip deeply affected his health, so much so that on his return to France he was forced to give up his sea explorations. He settled at St. Servan, and filled the position of mayor for some years, where he is remembered for the improvements he introduced. He died there, of the cholera, October 26, 1849.

The translator, in a foot-note to his introduction, states that Duhaut-Cilly was the author of a brochure—*Retour de la Corvette l'Ariane de la Mer du Sud dans l'Océan Atlantique*, which states that he was the captain and took part in the blockade of Buenos Aires. This information was given by the Bibliothèque Nationale, but from the account in the *Revue des Provinces de l'ouest* it now appears that this pamphlet was the work of Malo Duhaut-Cilly.

critic like an Addison or a de Jouy,<sup>1</sup> nor can he describe poetically like a de Chateaubriand.

What please and amuse us in a savage people are their habits, customs, even the most familiar details of their life. For a civilized nation it is otherwise; one wishes to know less about its separate customs than its laws, its government, and the tendencies of its policy, because this is what interests us in our relations with it; and if the author wish to return to its private habits, he can do it successfully only by means of a critical examination and great talent.

But if highly civilized nations and purely savage peoples are equally interesting to study, it is not the same with those populations whose debased customs have nothing national about them. This is the case with California, loaded with Spanish, English, Mexican, Indian and other customs, a dull mosaic picture without life and character. This lack of originality would have made me give up the idea of entertaining the reader, had this country's natives not been there to throw some color upon this pale canvas.

I have been speaking for a long while of California, of the presidios and the missions, without, until now, giving myself to explanations necessary for the understanding of what has been said and what remains for me to say about these things. Now I am going to take up the subject of this country in a more general way; afterward, I shall give some particulars about the natives.

This part of America, at the present time subject to the rule of Mexico, is divided into Upper and Lower California. The latter is the part which I know the less. It is, properly speaking, the long and narrow peninsula, bounded on one side by the great ocean, on the other by the Gulf of Cortez, also called the Red Sea, and is included between the twenty-second and thirty-second degree of north latitude.

The settlement of Lower California, going back about one hundred and twenty years, is owed to the order of Dominicans, who still are the heads of the missions in this province; but though it has been civilized for a longer time than Upper California, and possesses gold and silver mines, and other products of great value, it is far from having attained the degree of prosperity of the other; and the reason for this must be attributed to the nature of the soil, which is much less fertile and less susceptible to cultivation. It is separated from the coast of Sonora by the Gulf of Cortez and the Rio Colorado (Red River), which empties exactly into the northern end of this little sea. The principal presidios of Lower California are Real San Antonio, of which I have already spoken, La Paz, and Loreto, the most northerly. On the coast bathed by the Red Sea they hunt the tortoise yielding the tortoise shell, and the oyster producing pearls. The pearls are abundant and often very big, frequently taking the form of a pear.

<sup>1</sup> [Victor Joseph Étienne de Jouy, born at Jouy, near Versailles, about 1764. He enlisted in the army, visited South America and India; wrote several light comedies, and a lyric poem, *La Vestale*, which gained for him much reputation; composed the libretti for several operas, among others Rossini's *Moïse* and *Guillaume Tell* and Cherubini's *Les Amazones*; wrote the tragedy *Sylla*, in which Talma acted. A series of sketches published under the title of *L'Hermite de la Chaussée d'Antin* had been compared with Addison's *Spectator*. He was a member of the French Academy in 1815; died 1846.]



I have seen some which would have been of an inestimable value, if they had been of a little better color, what the people of the country call *buen oriente*; but nearly all are spotted or shaded a deep olive in some parts. The shells, themselves, are usually edged with a rim of this color, making the mother-of-pearl of inferior quality.

At the time I visited this country, an English company had despatched thither a ship for carrying on the pearl fishing. This expedition, for which the shares of stock were, perhaps, sold very high in London, failed. The diving apparatus they used was good; but it required too much time to let it down and raise it again proportionately to the space of ground it took in; so that, were it cast in a spot where the oysters were few, the day was passed in vain efforts, costing much and bringing in nothing.

There are no more free Indians in Lower California, and the number of those in subjection to the missionaries or to the government, and even to individuals, is small and diminishes every day. The Dominicans governing the missions of Lower California are very inferior in talent and learning to the Franciscans. I have known but one of them, the one at San José del Cabo, who was exemplary in his life; all the others caused more or less scandal among the people.

Upper California is the prolongation of the peninsula, and makes part of the mainland of America. It extends lengthwise, from the port of San Diego, in  $32\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$  latitude north, to San Francisco, in  $37\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$ . It is the southern part of the strip of coast which is called New Albion by the English.

The first mission, established in 1769, was that of San Diego, and since, twenty others have been founded between these two points, comprising a stretch of one hundred and fifty leagues in length; for beyond this, there are no establishments, and that part of the country is inhabited by savages alone.

The foundation of all these missions took place in agreement with the Spanish government; and though persuasion was the first means employed by the Franciscans, it was deemed necessary to support them by some military force, not with the avowed intention of attacking the natives and conquering the land, but for protecting the rising establishments from the encroachments of the savages. It was for this purpose that the four presidios of San Diego, Santa Bárbara, Monterey and San Francisco were established, at the same time. These are a kind of fortress, in which are distributed the soldiers furnishing the detachments appointed to guard each mission.

Here is the condition of the missions of Upper California in 1827, with their geographical position, the number of their Indians, and their respective distances.

It is seen by this table that the number of Christian Indians distributed among the missions of Upper California amounted, in 1827, to twenty thousand one hundred and fifty-three.<sup>2</sup> According to Roquefeuille, there were twenty-two

<sup>2</sup> [Dubaut-Cilly makes an error in the table, and repeats it in the text, in the number of Indians at the missions. After adding several times the column of figures given, the translator makes the total 21,052: the decrease, therefore, in the ten years was, instead of two thousand, only one thousand. Still the decrease was great, and continued, in about the same ratio, for many years after the author's visit.]

thousand in 1817; thus this class must have suffered a decrease of two thousand in ten years.

[LOCATION AND POPULATION OF THE MISSIONS OF UPPER CALIFORNIA  
IN 1827]

Names of the missions.	Foundation.	Latitude north.	Indians living	Distance from the preceding
San Diego	16 June 1769	32° 48'	1,829	
San Luis Rey	13 June 1798	33° 3'	2,767	13½ leagues
San Juan Capistrano	1 Nov. 1776	33° 26'	1,060	12½ "
San Gabriel	8 Sept. 1771	34° 10'	1,644	18 "
San Fernando	8 Sept. 1797	34° 16'	957	9 "
San Buenaventura	31 March 1782	34° 26'	908	22 "
Santa Bárbara	4 Dec. 1786	34° 30'	923	10 "
Santa Inés	12 Sept. 1804	34° 52'	516	12 "
Purísima Concepcion	8 Dec. 1782	35°	662	8 "
San Luis Obispo	1 Sept. 1772	35° 36'	424	18 "
San Miguel	25 July 1797	35° 48'	904	13 "
San Antonio	14 July 1771	36° 30'	806	13 "
Soledad	9 Oct. 1791	36° 38'	512	11 "
San Carlos	3 June 1770	36° 44'	306	15 "
San Juan Bautista	24 June 1797	36° 48'	1,221	12 "
Santa Cruz	28 Aug. 1791	37°	461	13 "
Santa Clara	18 Jan. 1777	37° 20'	1,450	11 "
San José	11 June 1797	37° 30'	1,806	5 "
San Francisco	9 Oct. 1776	37° 46'	265	20 "
San Rafael	18 Dec. 1817	38° 1'	939	8 "
San Francisco Solano	25 Aug. 1823	38° 39'	692	9 "

20,153

But if this part of the population has diminished, on the other hand, the number of creoles, which is the name I give the Californians, because some day they will be the only inhabitants of this country, has increased in the same proportion during these ten years. The traveller I have just cited estimated it at the same period, 1817, at thirteen hundred, and in 1827 it had risen to three thousand five hundred. As in Lower California, this class owes its origin to the first Spaniards who married Indian women. It has gradually increased sufficiently to obviate the need of the men any longer uniting themselves to these women; with the result that their color, which, at first was olive, has lightened more and more. These people have to-day the complexion of the Spanish; a large number of marriages, contracted since the independence of Mexico, between the Californian women and foreigners, have powerfully contributed to make this population fully white.

Nearly all of the men are large and well formed; their features are fine and strong; a thick black beard discloses their Spanish origin. But they do not reap all the advantage from their figure: the custom of being always on horseback causes them to acquire an awkward shape. They are so little accustomed to make use of their legs that, in walking, they carry the entire weight of their body from one side to the other, as if they were lame. The Californians are lazy: the only work to which they give themselves with any inclination is that which consists in taking care of the herds, because, for this employment, one must be on horseback; they excel, also, in everything having to do with equi-

tation: after the talent of the rider, they possess little of any other except that of the butcher and of the ostler.

Agriculture is entirely neglected by the Californians. The labor of some among them, in this particular, consists in cultivating some vines and small gardens where are planted, without judgment, various species of fruit trees and vegetables which they do not know how to graft or to improve. It is true that the lack of laws in the country does not fit for the encouragement of husbandry. To feel the desire to improve, one must be an owner; now, not one estate is supported by a lawful title. Never has the government, nor have the missionaries, given up to the people the smallest piece of land, either by grant or by full sale. They alone possess, and can transmit the right of possession. I have spoken of the ranchos or great farms where private people live; I have mentioned the gardens of the pueblos of San José and of Los Angeles: the people can be stripped of them without regard; even the ground on which are built their dwellings does not belong to them. All grants made till now to Californians are revocable. After an occupation of more than a half-century by one family, there is still no legal prescription. We saw law suits between the heirs of an estate of this kind, ended by its seizure in the name of the government which, to bring the pleaders into harmony, granted it temporarily to a private person who had no right to it. They are, then, merely a kind of fiefs which can be withdrawn at the caprice or the good pleasure of the lord.

This system cannot last long: if Mexico establish herself definitely, the lands not belonging to the missions will have to be divided among Californians; but while awaiting this happy revolution, nothing can restore confidence in the husbandman, and agriculture remains in discredit.

One may retort that the present resources of California are sufficient for her inhabitants; I admit it; but it is with her future prosperity with which I am concerned: what is wanting are people. Everyone knows that populations increase rapidly only as the means for existence grow. The kings of Spain had an interest in holding the creoles in subjection; and without being ashamed of the vast field they opened to injustice and favor, they regarded this paramount power over the lands as a *governmental* means. The republican government of Mexico must consider things under quite another aspect: they must desire everything which can lead to the growth of the population; for the multitude, the masses, are the power.

There are very few Californians in the missions; they are distributed among the two pueblos I have spoken of, and in the four presidios. One hardly knows how live those dwelling in these latter. Many of them become soldiers, and thereby find a kind of existence. Military life among the Californian soldiers, active enough because they are employed as express messengers and stewards, in no wise resembles that of the European soldier. They never drill: they are merely considered as mounting guard in the presidios and missions: their most frequent and regular duty is to serve as customs guards. Those entrusted with this care know how to take advantage of their position by favoring smuggling.



These troops, although divided into artillery, cavalry, and infantry, are alike mounted. Each soldier must have several horses which feed upon the government lands. These regiments have, correctly speaking, no uniform; the national costume I have spoken of takes the place of it. These men occupy in society quite another rank than our European soldiers, and in this respect much more resemble the Turkish janissaries than any other body of troops. They have been seen to aspire to the hand of their commandant's daughter, and gain it. They are present at all the festivals given by their officers, return them courtesy for courtesy, and are their equal everywhere. They would receive a very large salary if they were paid what is owed them; but that has never happened to them, no more under the Spanish government than under the Mexican, and there are some who are owed more than twenty years of their wages. They receive only their rations with tolerable regularity, and they are furnished clothing, from time to time, from the woolens, linen and shoes which are supplied by foreign ships for the amount of their customs duties.

The people of the pueblos and ranchos have at least more assured means of existence. Their herds, their vineyards, their gardens provide abundantly enough for their tables. Those lacking these resources work when hunger urges them, branding and tending their neighbors' herds, being paid in cattle. In the months of May and June they hunt the deer and wild cattle abounding in the woods where they have increased considerably.

It is not the Californians who till their lands; for this work they obtain Indians, whose wages they pay to the missionaries. It is to be regretted that this duty should be entrusted to a kind of slaves, whilst men and vigorous youths pass their life in horse racing or in squandering in gambling the little they have.

Californians are, in general, hospitable, but vain and easily offended. Fathers exact from their children great submission, and this dependence is frequently maintained after marriage. Seldom does one see a child of either sex sitting at the table of his father who, more often, eats alone, served by his wife, sons and daughters. Although the habit of smoking is so strong with them that they are rarely seen without a cigar in the mouth, a son would not dare to do it in the presence of his parents. The young Californian cannot shave, for the first time, without his father's consent, which is not often given before his twenty-second year, the usual time for his marriage.

The women are of a size proportional to that of the men, that is, they are large and strong. Some are seen with pretty faces, and which would pass for beautiful were they less careless of their complexion, their hands and feet; they are usually sedate and modest; the fault of Californian men, also, is not licentiousness: gambling occupies first place; they ruin themselves at it, and lose the inclination for work in this fatal occupation for nearly all their time. The most skillful player is he who cheats the most. When it is said of some one: *sabe barajar* (he knows how to shuffle the cards), that does not mean he handles his cards greatly and elegantly, but that he knows how to arrange them cleverly in order to win.

If gambling ruins them, drunkenness degrades them still more: these two vices, here as with us, usually go hand in hand. They devote themselves to it, unbridled, unrestrained; thus, at their feasts one sees almost nothing but brandy for all refreshment; and to arrange for a dance, what they call a *fandango*, though they are not acquainted with that dance, it needs but some gallons of this beverage and a few candles.

The Catholic religion is observed by Californians with many outward demonstrations; and one sees only too well that, after the example of their Spanish ancestors, they make it consist of ceremonies of worship mingled with many superstitions. The importance which the missionaries, in order to speak to the eyes of the Indians, have always placed in the visible things of religion, is one of the causes of this error. A Californian believes he is a very good Catholic if he appears with the outward marks of piety, though he do or avoid nothing which the religion commands or forbids. He has not even the notion that faith is a virtue necessary to one attending mass, feasts and Sunday services in a proper spirit. Fast days are distinguished from others only because one must eat either fish or flesh, without a mixture of the two; in these days one sees even the table of the padres set, as usual, with meat, fish and vegetables; and every one, according to his taste, devotes himself to one or the other of these dishes. The missionaries' fast is limited to not eating ragouts at evening and morning; but with a cup of chocolate and a tart, they wait patiently for dinner.

There are few, except the missionaries, who eat bread; the Californians make, from flour, cakes taking the place of it, and which they call, as I have already said, tortillas. They make them also of corn meal, which are not so good. Their table is, in general, very simple, and the meat of the ox, or rather of the cow, for they prefer this, is the entire expense of their cuisine. They do not like game: they might easily provide themselves with hare and deer. They claim the flesh of the deer is not healthful; it is, they say, a cold meat (*carne fria*); they never eat it. Cheese is much to their taste; they manufacture several kinds; but their cows give little milk.

In some of the missions fairly well served tables are found, and if they still leave much to be desired by the lover of good eating, he must blame the good will of the missionaries less than the slight development the culinary art has been able to receive in this country. I have, however, the mild satisfaction of believing that the Luculluses of California will boast of the sojourn of the *Héros* on their shores: perhaps, some day they will erect to the good and erudite Dorrey<sup>3</sup> an altar, where his bust, crowned with thyme and laurel, shall receive homage forever and ever, in memory of the two Indian disciples whom he initiated into the secrets of his art.

The Indians of Upper California are divided into two classes: the Christians and the heathen (*los gentiles*), as they are called in this country. The

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<sup>3</sup> Dorrey was the cook on board the *Héros*, and the padre at San Luis had begged me to have him give lessons in cooking to two of his Indians who remained several months on board. To-day he keeps a very good hotel at Le Havre.

first are, as we have seen, not numerous, since only twenty thousand are counted on this long stretch of coast; but the number of the others, whose territory is bounded only by the possessions of the United States and by the northwest coast of America, cannot be reckoned.

This immense extent of ground undoubtedly contains a large number of nations, or rather of different tribes, still unknown: we shall take up only those neighboring the coast and which have peopled the missions.

The Indians have never formed a national body: even their language undergoes great variations in very short distances; often those at one mission do not understand those of the nearest mission. They are divided into separate villages or *rancherías*. Two or three of these *rancherías* form a tribe. Sometimes, even, a single one of these hamlets recognizes a chief independent of his neighbors, and speaks a separate language.

One can conceive that war must often break out between these little populations. The possession of a spring, of a grove, of a hill, becomes a subject of dispute; for the skin of a rabbit or a beaver, the bow is strung, and the murderous arrow does not pass through the air with impunity.

To avoid danger of incursions often unjustly made to their settlements, they usually select for sites for their villages, solid pieces of ground surrounded by marshes which the Spanish call *tulares*, from the great quantity of reeds [*tules*] growing there. Thither the Californian riders cannot come with their horses. The boats they use for crossing the water or for fishing are quite the worst in the world; they are two bundles of reeds, eight feet long, joined together by cross-pieces of wood. This species of rafts, called *balsas* in the country, is steered by means of a double-bladed paddle which is plunged into the water alternately on one side and the other.

These natives of Upper California present an exterior which prepossesses little in their favor. Some of the men are tall in stature, but the greater number are of a size below the average; without being overloaded with flesh, they have robust limbs and a full chest. Although their forms are athletically drawn, they are without grace and beauty. Their color is a dark brown-red; their face is less black than the rest of the body, and the women are more yellowish than the men. Supported upon a very short neck, their head is big, and covered with a thick, bushy mane of straight hair of the deepest black; a cord bound above the forehead keeps back this forest, in such a way as to leave the sight free. With the exception of a slight beard on the chin, they are little hairy; their skin is supple and smooth. It appears that smallpox does not make havoc among them. Their forehead is low and contracted above; the eyes are open, very black, and harmonize well with the wild character of the rest of their features. Wide nostrils accompany a slightly protruding nose. Two rows of large teeth of striking whiteness adorn a very wide mouth. Their lips are not very thick; the upper, larger than the other, is short and very near to the nose. The cheek-bone is prominent. Finally, the ensemble of their roughly fashioned features proclaims stupidity: this is the most general character of their physiognomy. Some excep-



tions must, however, be granted; without being pretty, there are young people of both sexes to whom a look full of fire and flourishing health lend a pleasing exterior.

The women are small, ugly, and thick-set; they have pronounced, but badly formed, hips, and lean, lank legs.

In both sexes, the broad, square foot is adorned with a thick, hard hoof, a result of their custom of running barefooted over rocks and in the brush.

This race of Indians is one of the filthiest in the world. Their cone-shaped hovels are disgusting dens, where they pass their precarious life in uncleanness and brutishness. Instead of making beds of straw or moss, they lie down around the fire in the dust and ashes. But they make themselves cloaks of rabbit skins or bird feathers, skilfully worked and decorated with bands of various colors. They make also pretty baskets of reed, ornamented with small pieces of mother-of-pearl and the aigrette of the partridge. As the country does not furnish, like other lands, fruits suitable for vessels, and as they are not acquainted with so easy an art as fashioning them from baked earth, they substitute for these reed baskets, woven tightly enough to make them impervious to water. As these vessels cannot go on the fire, they cook their food in them by throwing in hot stones which, in a moment, make boil the water put in them.<sup>4</sup>

The bows and arrows they make are so perfect that one would attempt vainly to improve on them. The flattened wood of the bow is covered, on the convex side, with a deer or bull sinew, and united with it in such a way as to be indivisible from it, and whose two ends, passing a little beyond the wood, are turned back in a volute to be used for attaching the catgut. If the bow be relaxed, the sinew contracts, and the convex side then becomes concave; from this, one must imagine whether, to stretch it, some strength and skill be necessary. To avoid the sound of the cord giving warning to the game, they wrap a part of it in a muff of beaver skin which neutralizes the vibration; so that only the whistling of the arrow is heard by the animal missed; for the one which is shot has not time to notice it. It would not, perhaps, be an improvement to replace the flint point, arming their arrows, with one of iron. As for the elegance of the shaft, as well as the manner in which it is feathered, nothing could be added to it. When they go to war or to the hunt, they put some dozens into a pretty fox or beaver skin, stripped from the animal by the rump; the shafts of the arrows coming out of the mouth, while the ends, adorned with feathers, reach beyond the back, lend to this quiver at the same time a wild and graceful character.

To poison their arrows of war, these Indians, it is said, make one or several rattle snakes bite a piece of flesh cut from a deer or an ox which has just died, and they thrust into it, several times, the point they wish to render mortal. Others say they dry this flesh by the fire, and after having ground it and mixed it with blood, they make use of this composition for the same purpose.

<sup>4</sup> [Duhaut-Cilly speaks somewhat slightly of these baskets which are accounted unsurpassed by those made anywhere in the world, either for use or beauty. What need had the Californian Indians for earthenware vessels when such splendid examples of basket weaving were produced by them? Duhaut-Cilly's expression, *jolles corbeilles*, is far from descriptive.]

They use various means, afterward, to test the subtilty of the poison. The first consists in touching, with the arrow, a piece of fresh meat. If it become livid and greenish, the poison is sufficiently active. The second expedient they employ is to make a small cut in their arm with a knife or some sharp instrument, and to touch the blood flowing from the wound with the arrow: immediately, they claim, the poison goes up toward the wound, coagulating or decomposing the blood which they wipe away quickly before reaching it. But there is still another test much more certain: it costs the life of a woman whom they wound with the point of the infected dart. The Indian supplying me with this note spoke quite good Spanish; and as I appeared indignant at the barbarity of the proceeding, he said to me with stupid indifference: "We choose in this case an old woman who is no longer good for anything" (*una vieja que no sirve*). This unfortunate creature is, however, sometimes their mother; for, among these natives, family ties are broken at the age when the child can care for himself. These customs differ essentially, on this point, from those of their neighbors of the northwest coast, where the women, of whatever age they may be, retain the greatest privileges.

The Indians impute to some old women the art of sorcery, and then they become objects of veneration and fear. They cast spells over women with child, making them take decoctions of magic plants: those who have incurred their anger delay not in becoming victims of their witchcraft, without being able to fix the true cause of it; undoubtedly they mix imperceptible poisons in their food, while they seem to do nothing but pass a mysterious wand through the hair of the object of their hatred, which throws them into a kind of frenzy, and causes them to lose their mind. At other times they make them meet, they say, a snake which charms their eyes and causes their death. These old enchantresses stubbornly refuse to converse with strangers about their occult science; without doubt for the very simple reason that the greatest merit of their secrets is to have none other than that of working upon the credulity of their savage compatriots.

As soon as an Indian feels himself indisposed, he makes use of a rather strange remedy: each village possesses a house or rather a cave of health; it is an oven hollowed in the ground, and covered with a thatched roof; a fire is lighted inside near the entrance, and all the sick cower, naked, in the bottom of this cavern, which has hardly any air and is full of smoke. One can understand how these poor patients soon enter into an abundant perspiration; the sweat rolls from all parts of their bodies; but at the moment they are bathed in it, and all the pores are open and expanded, they go to throw themselves into cold water, where they remain for some time.

Nothing positive can be said about the religion of these indigenes. They reply in a vague way to questions addressed them on this subject, and their accounts almost never agree. They believe the sun is the master of the world, and they regard it as a man whose wife is the moon. They explain, coarsely, what makes them believe the moon is a woman. They say also that the sun, having had a son, he drove him from heaven in a fit of anger: the latter, in the

shape of a marten, went to hide in the mountains; storms are the anger of the father; thunder, the son's voice; and earthquakes are produced by the struggles he makes to get free from the prison in which he is confined. The old mission Indians are the only ones from whom any particulars on this subject may be gained; every day tradition vanishes and is lost.<sup>5</sup>

The Indians who, gathered together at the missions, have embraced Christianity, understand this religion the less, as it is expounded to them by other Indians converted before them: the purity of the dogma can be only much altered, continued in this way by means of ignorant men, and in a language having no expressions for rendering our metaphysical ideas; in this way they preserve a large part of their native superstitions. In each mission there is an Indian preacher: his duties are to repeat in the tongue of the country, phrase by phrase, the instructions the padres utter in Spanish. All these neophytes end, after some years, in understanding and speaking this language with more or less clearness. They succeed quite well in whatever is taught them. In the missions one sees workmen who have gained a good deal of experience in the arts they have been taught; and I have given proof of this in the description of some buildings I have spoken of before. They imitate the Californians in all their exercises of equitation, and are as good horsemen as they.

The same system which governed the establishment of the missions of Lower California by the Dominicans has been followed also by the Franciscans in Upper California; but, like the first, these have not kept to their agreements; that is, that at the end of ten years, they have not deemed it fitting to distribute the lands among the neophytes, in giving them their freedom. One must not, however, charge these religious with the whole weight of this oppression: they have made attempts which did not succeed. In several missions some of the most intelligent of the Indians were selected, and were settled, with their wives and children, upon lands more than sufficient for each family. They were supplied with herds, agricultural instruments, and food for the first year; nothing, in short, was wanting to their needs, and even to their fortune which they could have increased rapidly: but the contrary has occurred. They have let themselves drift into sloth, indolence, and vice; they have let their herds perish, or have sold them in order to dissipate the revenue in gambling; grass has choked the plants in their gardens; their houses are fallen into ruins; and, at the end of some years, they have been forced to return to the mission that they might not die from hunger and misery. There at least they are sure of wanting nothing. They are compelled to work; but they are fed and given shelter. What must one conclude from this? That these people are not born for an agricultural life. Living as savages, they lead a precarious life, it is true, but which suits their disposition; as husbandmen, they pine away and die in indigence.

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<sup>5</sup> The accounts just read above on the Indians of California, and on the Californians themselves, are not alone the result of my researches; I owe a part of them to M. A. Bourdas, my brother-in-law, who made this voyage with me, and whose observing mind was of great assistance to me in this work.



## XVII

*Independent tendencies of the Indians.—Insurrection of the Indians at several missions.—Products and commerce of California.—What could be added to it.—Seasons of the two Californias and of the coast of Mexico.—Manner of steering to go up the coast. . . . .*

Slavery vainly disguises itself under the appearance of humanity and of an amelioration in man's lot: it is always slavery; that is to say, a state incompatible with the intellectual nature animating us. The wish to live in freedom can be stifled, but never extinguished, in a people. Were a chain to prevent a man from falling into an abyss, he would regard it none the less as a fetter which he would try to break, even at the risk of perishing.

What do the padres demand from the Indians of Upper California? A little labor in exchange for abundant nourishment, good clothing and the benefits of civilization. In spite of these evident advantages, the instinct of liberty is there crying to them to prefer to this quiet, though monotonous, state; the poor and uncertain life of their woods and their marshes.

From time to time these ideas ferment in the Indians' heads, and many escape to return to their solitudes. Some, also, reduced to the most frightful misery by their partial wars, are seen to come of their own accord, to seek at the missions a support which is never refused them; but the major part of the neophytes are held only by the respect they feel for the padres, and by the fear they have of being recaptured. Could they concert together, they would certainly destroy the missions, and return to their old life: the Franciscans are the only bonds holding them. It is this conviction also which has, till now, prevented the Mexican government from seizing these fine properties, by driving away the religious who founded them.

In 1820<sup>1</sup> the Indians at the missions of Santa Bárbara, Santa Inés and Purísima rose in insurrection. The conspiracy was general in these three places and broke out at the same time. The aim of the instigators was to burn the missions, and to flee to the tulares with whatever they could carry away. They did not wish to do any harm to the missionaries. But as two of the latter joined the soldiers who were opposed to the projects of the Indians, they ran the risk of being killed. The one at Santa Inés, particularly, a man of great courage, at the head of four soldiers, sustained for a whole day the siege of his house against all the assailants to the number of more than two hundred.

This conspiracy could not be so secretly plotted but that some indications of it had been remarked: the Indians were seen to be making a great stock of bows and arrows; so that warning of it had been given at the presidio of Santa Bárbara, the nearest to these missions, and help came in time to prevent any excesses.

At the approach of these reinforcements the insurgents took to flight and withdrew to the tulares. Three Californians and a larger number of Indians lost

<sup>1</sup> [It was in 1824 that the revolt described here by the author took place.]

their lives on this occasion. At Santa Bárbara the seditious movement took place with much order; they did not even attempt to burn the mission: it is true it was certain to have immediate help from the presidio, which is only two miles from it. The revolt had chosen a chief who, placing himself at their head, began by ordering Fray Antonio Ripoll to retire into the church with all the sacred vessels; and after having seized everything which fell under their hand, this band, loaded with booty, took without disorder the way to the tulares. This revolt had had for beginning the bad treatment inflicted by the soldiers upon some Indians, whose resentment had awakened among them the notion of liberty.

A like example might be dangerous for the other missions, and yet they would not use severity against so large a number of offenders. The padres preferred to employ persuasion and mildness to bring them back. They went, therefore, to find them in their retreat, and throwing all the blame upon the soldiers, while making a great show of pardon, they induced them to return. All the injuries were forgotten on both sides, and everything retook its usual course; but this event gave the measure of the inner tendencies of the Indians.

The limited population of Upper California causes trade itself to be of little importance here; for it must be in relation to the needs of the consumption. The main, and almost the sole, objects of exchange are tallow and hides. These two articles are less important in Lower California; but as, on the other hand, that province supplies pearls, silver and gold, there is nearly equality in the means for purchases. The missionaries of Upper California sell only for the maintenance of their establishments, and few among them lay up anything. Whence it results that their wealth in herds constantly increases, the destruction not being in proportion to the multiplication. The number of neat cattle distributed in 1827 among all these properties amounted to two hundred and two thousand; individuals owned twenty-eight to thirty thousand; it was, then, two hundred and thirty thousand for the province. The exportation at the same time was not more than forty thousand hides, and it could have been almost doubled without impairing the capital.

Each animal, if it be killed at a favorable time, ought to furnish two to three *arrobas* of tallow (the *arroba* weighs twenty-five Spanish pounds); but all not being killed in a fit time, and a part of this supply being consumed in the country, there is exported of it only a quantity of arrobas about equal to the number of hides of oxen and cows.

After these two main objects, the remainder of the articles of exchange hardly deserve mentioning. I have already said that the skins of the saricovian otter are very scarce here, and of inferior quality. Grain finding but little or no market, the missionaries sow it only for their own consumption. The Russian settlements on the northwest coast were the only places supplied with grain from California; but the establishment at Ross having succeeded in obtaining good harvests of corn, this branch of trade has nearly died out.

Navigators from the United States who, for a long while, have exploited the commercial resources of this country, have given their attention only to the

two most important articles. Were the French to send ships here, they could add to them the hides and manes of the horses. These animals, whose number can hardly be reckoned, are sometimes become so much of a care, that it is necessary to kill them by thousands without receiving any profit from them. One could, at very little cost, during the ship's stay on the coast, make gelatin, bouillon tablets and bone black; but would not the introduction of these articles into France be prohibited?

If deer and bear skins had some value in Europe, it would not be difficult to procure them in California.

An inhabitant of the pueblo of Los Angeles brought me one day several specimens of fossil alum (*alum fossile*), assuring me he had gathered them in a nearby mountain almost entirely composed of it: the pieces he gave me were very transparent and of a very caustic quality.

The product from wool animals does not enter into trade; it is used in the missions to manufacture coarse stuffs for the Indians. Each one of these establishments has its spinning mills and looms, where the young people of both sexes are especially put to use.

I think it will be interesting to present, in a table, the annual productions of all the missions of California, followed by a summary of its export trade.

TABLE OF THE PRODUCTS OF THE MISSIONS OF UPPER CALIFORNIA IN 1827

Missions	Annual harvest				Neat Cattle Living	Wool Animals Living
	Fanegas Corn	Fanegas Barley	Fanegas Maize	Fanegas Beans		
San Diego	5,400	2,740	640	111	11,760	19,000
San Luis Rey	4,000	3,600	7,000	360	24,950	21,507
San Juan Capistrano	1,600	56	1,280	76	1,700	4,500
San Gabriel	4,070	210	1,200	00	22,807	7,100
San Fernando	4,000	00	1,400	220	6,850	3,500
San Buenaventura	1,600	1,000	1,800	100	6,850	5,600
Santa Bárbara	1,740	400	206	60	2,050	2,500
Santa Inés	1,200	600	800	24	9,940	2,400
Purísima Concepcion	2,200	00	240	00	17,140	6,000
San Luis Obispo	2,120	00	00	60	12,000	5,000
San Miguel	2,400	24	24	12	7,000	11,024
San Antonio	2,710	420	180	88	10,420	9,000
Soledad	2,040	486	00	78	7,200	57,007
San Carlos	428	1,600	50	288	3,420	5,400
San Juan Bautista	4,740	1,134	760	10	10,830	9,300
Santa Cruz	2,636	742	1,950	1,044	5,140	6,000
Santa Clara	4,000	500	1,000	216	12,000	13,500
San José	5,000	300	80	80	15,420	15,000
San Francisco	1,008	206	90	22	4,290	4,366
San Rafael	2,600	1,400	385	80	1,540	3,000
San Francisco Solano	1,000	00	400	12	1,880	4,000
Fanegas	56,492	15,418	19,485	2,941	195,187	214,704
½ kilogrammes	7,051,400	1,927,250	2,414,000	367,625		



## EXPORT TRADE OF CALIFORNIA IN GENERAL IN 1827

Upper California			
Cattle hides	40,000 at 2 piastres	80,000	
Arrobas of tallow	45,000 at 2 "	90,000	
Otter skins	200 at 20 "	4,000	
Corn, fanegas	3,500 at 1½ "	5,250	
Coin in circulation		22,000	
			201,250
Lower California			
Hides	25,000 at 1¾ piastres	43,750	
Pure silver		43,000	
Gold in dust and bars		50,000	
Fine pearls		25,000	
Tortoise shell		5,200	
Cheese and soap		10,000	
			176,950
Total exportation in francs 1,891,000		piastres	378,200 <sup>2</sup>

From the latter table it may be computed that the exportations from Upper California amount to about twelve hundred tons: this is the landing of four ships of three hundred tons. In other words, it is a value of a million to divide among four cargoes of imports, which gives for each one a sum of 250,000 francs; and as a profit from imports of at least 40% is presumed, it follows that, in any case, the value of a cargo destined for this country need not amount to more than 180,000 francs.

It is seen also that, if more than four cargoes a year are brought in, the business necessarily becomes bad for all competitors. One hundred and eighty thousand francs is a very small capital to bear the expenses of an expedition demanding considerable time; thus, I should not advise anyone to limit himself to the trade of Upper California; it would be necessary to extend the business over the entire peninsula, as well as to the ports of Mexico situated on the Red Sea, which are Guaymas, Mazatlan and San Blas.

The soil of Upper California is highly fertile; but the long drought in the summer is a great obstacle to tillage. From March until October no rain falls. The streams cease to flow, the land becomes dry, the pastures grow yellow, the herds suffer and become thin. During all this season, comprising at least eight months of the year, the wind blows regularly from the northwest. The breeze is very fresh from ten in the morning until eight in the evening; it then dies down, and frequently a light land breeze follows it. In San Francisco Bay the northwest wind often lasts during the night, in squalls; and in the daytime it is sometimes so strong that boats have difficulty in communicating with the land, even in the bay at Yerba Buena, where one is moored quite near the shore. As one goes toward the south the northwest wind becomes lighter, except, however, at Point Concepcion, where it always blows stiffly.

If, on leaving one of these harbors, one go perpendicularly to the coast it is noticed that the wind, at first northwest or west-northwest, inclines gradually

<sup>2</sup> [The translator has corrected the author's figures in the totals in this table and in the one preceding, Duhaut-Cilly or his printer having made manifest errors here as well as in the table and text of Chapter XVI.]

toward the north, and as soon as one is gone forty or fifty leagues from land, it settles itself fixedly in the northeast. This being so, the ship which, tacking from one port to another, seeks to go up to the north, must not tack far to sea, because it would run the risk of drawing away considerably from its destination while persisting in going up into the wind. It is always the land tack which profits it the most, and it ought to be chary of the route taking it out to sea.

During winter the weather is often rainy, particularly with the winds from the south to the east, which almost never blow from this side without bringing a species of hurricane, the more dangerous as all the open roads of the coast are unprotected from this direction, and have no defense against their fury. It was these which made us abandon so precipitately the anchorage at Santa Cruz; it was these also which came near causing our loss at San Pedro; it was these again which, in a circumstance I have not mentioned, made us pass a very disquieting night in the road of Santa Bárbara.

When, in winter, it does not rain, the whole country is enveloped in a dense, almost permanent, fog. The temperature is then cold and damp; but it does not freeze, even at San Francisco. The Réaumur thermometer seldom goes below 7° [44.75° Fahrenheit]. The high mountains are sometimes white with snow; but it does not fall in the plain. The people suffer from cold the more as their houses are very poorly closed and have no chimneys; they are reduced to wrapping themselves in cloaks and woolen coverings.

Hardly is winter half way through its course than everything takes on new life: the rivers swell and run over their banks; springs gush up everywhere; the streams again show themselves; the earth is soaked; the hills and pasture lands are covered with a thick and lusty grassy growth, and, not later than March, nature breathes freshness and displays plenty.

The seasons of Lower California are nearly the opposite of those I have just described. Forty leagues south from San Diego they are in a sort of equilibrium. The fine season in the peninsula begins in November and lasts until June. During this interval of about eight months the weather is magnificent. When it is calm the heat is overpowering; but nearly always an even and moderate breeze from the north cools the air and clears it, taking from it all its humidity.

The poorest roads suffice then for the safety of navigation: the sky, of the utmost clearness, never collects clouds or storms. This condition of things stretches over the entire western coast of Mexico, and brings to it a general healthfulness; but the seasons advance as the places are farther south. For instance, on the coast of Sonora, towards the ports of Mazatlan and Guaymas, one is still safe at the beginning of June; while in the waters at Acapulco, and south of that port, everything is changed from the beginning of May.

About this formidable time the sky is covered with thick and stormy clouds; the wind becomes variable, and frequently turns toward the south. Soon deluges of rain are poured upon all this coast, ruined by frightful hurricanes. Night and day the atmosphere is kindled by fires and continual lightings, and the air resounds on all sides with the rarely broken noise of the thunder. If, perchance,

the sun happens to show itself, its damp, stifling heat makes one regret the darkness. Mortal diseases, putrid and inflammatory fevers, are spread over all this littoral of Mexico which, truly, ceases to be habitable: in many places, therefore, the people retire into the interior where higher and drier lands protect them at least from inundations: those at San Blas go to Tepic to spend this frightful season.

Without speaking of the dangers seamen would run in persisting in remaining in this chaos of the elements, the stop they would make here would be useless for their business: trade ceases at almost every point. It is, then, of great importance, for anyone contemplating an operation on this coast, to calculate his time so as to arrive here, at the earliest, in November for the southern ports, and in December for those of San Blas, Mazatlan, Guaymas, and for Lower California. One must be two hundred leagues from the land out to sea in order to cease feeling the influence of this winter season; inside this line one is exposed to struggle against all sorts of difficulties, as we experienced in going from Salango to San José del Cabo, in October, 1826.

[Duhaut-Cilly arrived in Lima on the 26th of December after a passage of sixty-seven days "free from remarkable events." He stayed two months in the port of Callao while awaiting the sale of his cargo of tallow, which did not sell as well as he had expected; moreover, the heat had caused some of it to melt and leak through the seams of the leather bags and the holes insects had made in them. Lima was in a greatly disturbed political state, which spread uneasiness and fear everywhere and paralyzed commerce. On the 28th of February Duhaut-Cilly went to Callao, and the same afternoon set sail to return to Monterey, arriving there on the 3d of May after a passage of sixty-four days.]

## XVIII

*M. R..... is not at Monterey. — Trip to Bodega. — The pilot of Hades. — Description of the settlement of Ross. — Incomplete society. — Clearing of wood. — Observations on the chains. — Return to California. — Arrival at Santa Bárbara. — Feast of San Juan. — Indian exercises. — Trip to San Gabriel. — Decree of expulsion of the Spanish. — Departure for San Diego.*

On my arrival at Monterey I was hoping to find M. R..... returned from the northwest coast. Not only was I cheated in this hope, but I learned, on the contrary, that, instead of undertaking this trip, as he had promised me, he had changed his destination and was gone to the coast of Mexico with the *Waverley* and its cargo. I shall not enter into any particulars about this miserable business, which could have no interest for the reader. I will say, merely, once for all, that after vainly awaiting his return beyond the time he fixed in a letter from him I found at Monterey, the conduct of this individual forced me to abandon him, while making him responsible for the goods he had in his hands. I retook on board the men whom I had left to guard the storehouse, and the little mer-



chandise it held. I then decided, while awaiting the time fixed by M. R....., to visit once more the entire coast, in order to sell the whole of the cargo. I still desired to add to these chances for a mart the Russian settlement of Bodega, situated on the same coast, some distance northwest from San Francisco; and on the 30th we set sail from Monterey to go thither, very poorly informed of the geographical position of this settlement.

The 2d of June, we found ourselves, toward evening, some leagues from the land, near the point on the coast where I supposed this Russian colony ought to be; and truly, we saw with the glass something resembling a group of houses. At sunset we were nearer it, and from that moment, assured we had not been deceived, I had the flag hoisted while a gun was fired. Almost immediately a little ball of white smoke told us that they were replying to us in the same manner, and we discerned the Russian flag. It was, nevertheless, too late to think of landing before night: we put the ship under small sail, and kept our position till the following day.

The morning of the 3d we appeared before the settlement, and as we brought to, some miles away, examining the coast without discovering any cut or recess which might indicate a harbor, we saw suddenly three bidarkas approaching, each one bearing three persons. After some instants these boats arrived alongside, and we received the visit of the Russian commandant himself, Paul Shelikof, to whom I imparted the motives bringing me. At the same time I asked from him permission to moor in his port, in order to offer him the goods of the cargo which might suit him. Although he was not much in need, and was somewhat low in goods of exchange, he kindly received my proposal, and giving orders to one of the men he had brought to serve as pilot to me, he said he would accompany me to the port of Bodega, the only anchorage used by the colony. He sent back to land two of the boats, and begged me to have the other taken on board; after which, we went on our way parallel to the shore.

From the spot where we had brought to, the settlement appeared very different from the presidios of California, pictures of the rudeness of the arts and carelessness in the execution. Well-made roofs, houses of elegant form, fields well sown and surrounded with palisades, lent to this place a wholly European air.

We made fifteen miles to reach a small peninsula sheltering the road at Bodega. Three hundred fathoms east from this point lies a small low island on which is seen a little green growth. The sea was breaking with violence upon this rock and upon a reef united to the side toward the east southeast. Our Russian pilot made us pass in mid-channel the isle and the peninsula, in a depth of four to five fathoms; and soon after we anchored within, in the middle of a sort of bay sheltered by the land, from the south to the east by the north, that is, on three quarters of the horizon.

Toward evening Commandant Shelikof returned to land, whither horses had been brought for him, after making me promise to go to see him the next day.

The morning of the 4th, seeing several horses he had sent for us, I landed

with Dr. Botta and our pilot. The landing place is in a small harbor at the mouth of a salt-water lake, and sheltered from every wind. Even ships drawing little water could find refuge there; fine wooden storehouses have been built there for the needs of Russian ships.

We mounted our horses and set out, accompanied by several Russians and by our pilot, who after having performed his nautical duties with talent the day before, directed us just as well on another element, while bearing no more than the modest name of guide. Having crossed the isthmus of the peninsula, we went a league upon a fine sandy beach, and then climbed a rocky wall of moderate height. We then went over an open space of ground carpeted with grass mixed with strawberry plants loaded with their fruit, and enamelled with a multitude of flowers of all colors. The sea was breaking at the foot of the rocky cliff, where it opposed its snowy foam to the dark color of the rocks, and to the rich verdure of the fields which our horses were treading, without making more sound than if they had walked upon eider-down. Two leagues passed over in this field led us to the bank of a fair-sized river, called by the Indians Sacabayé, by the Russians Slavonka [and now known as the Russian River]. It is too deep, even in summer, to be forded; and in winter it becomes terrible, and carries swiftly away the immense trunks of fir trees uprooted by the storms: the water, in retiring, had left enormous ones upon the two banks.

This passage has been fatal to many travelers, and two years before, an American captain was drowned here. As for us, we passed over safely enough in a bidarka M. Shelikof had purposely sent hither. This boat, made of seal-skin, carried only two persons; so that it had to make a trip for each one of us. Guided skilfully by a Kodiak Islander, it had more than one point of resemblance to old Charon's craft. Its lightness and little steadiness could make it be supposed that it was, indeed, appointed to transport only shades; and the sort of guttural grumbling heard from the Kodiak, when he designated the person who was to enter with him into his bidarka, must have much resembled the hoarse voice of the pitiless boatman of Hades, chiding the souls on the banks of the Styx.

Great precautions were necessary to creep half-way into a round hole, and the slightest movement to right or left was enough to make the light vehicle take on a disquieting slant. I did not, however, wish to remain idle during the passage; and in my quality as sailor, I seized a paddle, and I dabbled with it in a way to satisfy the old pilot of the Slavonka. But it is in these little skin boats that the natives of the Aleutian Islands face the high seas, hunting the saricovian otter, and struggling with the most monstrous whales, whose flesh and oil are their favorite food and drink.

Besides, in this dangerous fishing, they use more skill than strength. When they have agreed to attack a whale, they gather together as many as several hundred of bidarkas to pursue the monster. They act in such a way as always to keep near it, and every time it is obliged to appear above the water to breathe, they hurl at it all at once a plentiful rain of small harpoons to which bladders

are attached. This attack continues until the whale, bristling with harpoons, can no longer overcome the resistance of all these bladders together. It remains, struggling, upon the surface of the water, without power to dive, and they finish it then with longer and stronger darts. They make use of these harpoons also for the otter; but a single one is sufficient to arrest the animal.

Horses accustomed to crossing the river, swim over it by themselves as soon as they have been relieved of their harness. Again setting out on the way, we climbed a road so steep that we could hardly understand how our horses were able to hold themselves on it without falling over backward upon their riders.

The mountain, whose top we reached not without difficulty and even some danger, was covered with enormous firs, mixed with sycamores, bay trees, and various species of oaks. At a height of three hundred fathoms, we commanded a view of the sea which came beating its base, and whose waves, for us silent, appeared only as little whitish spots, scattered on an azure cloth.

We descended the other side by as cruel an incline as the first, and at each vista, we saw through the trees, or above their tops, and more and more distinctly, the Russian settlement below us, northwest from the mountain. Fearing the same horses, after a course of four leagues, could not travel these two dangerous passages, M. Shelikof had been considerate enough to have fresh ones ready at the highest point.

At eleven in the morning, we arrived at the colony the Russians have called Ross. It is a large square enclosure, surrounded by a palisade of thick planks twenty feet high, firmly built, and finished with a cheval-de-frise of proportionate weight and size. At the northeast and southwest corners are two turrets, hexagonal in shape, pierced with port-holes, loopholes and barbicans. On the four sides corresponding to the four cardinal points are four doors, each one defended by a mortar with fixed breeching, showing at a port-hole, as in a ship: inside also were two field pieces of bronze, with their gun-carriages. A fine house for the commandant or director, pretty lodgings for the subordinate chiefs, large storehouses and workshops take up the square. A chapel newly built serves as a bastion at the southeast corner. This citadel is constructed upon the edge of the wall of rock, on a high flat piece of ground about two hundred feet above the level of the sea; to right and left are gorges protecting it from Indian attacks from the north and south, while the rocky wall and the sea defend it on the side to the west. The two gorges open out into two little creeks serving as a shelter and landing place to the boats belonging to the colony.

All the buildings of Ross are of wood, but well built and well taken care of. In the apartments of the director are found all the conveniences which Europeans value, and which are still unknown in California. Outside the square are disposed or scattered the pretty little houses of sixty Russian colonists, the flattened cabins of eighty Kodiaks, and the cone-shaped huts of as many indigenous Indians.

To the east of the establishment the land rises gradually, and gains great heights covered with thick forests which shelter it from the winds, from the

north to the southeast. All of these slopes are divided into fields of corn, French beans, oats, potatoes, etc., surrounded with palisades, not to put the harvests beyond the reach of thieves, but to protect them from the cattle and the wild beasts.

In spite of its military aspect, this colony is a commercial establishment belonging, with that of Sitka and the one on Kodiak Island, to a company of merchants; but it appears that the emperor has granted it immense privileges, and that a large part of the Russian court are more or less interested in it. The directors have a military rank, and the company's ships carry the national pennant, and are commanded by officers of the imperial navy.

Much order and discipline appear to exist at Ross; and though the director is the only chief who is an officer, everywhere is noticed the effects of a minute care. The colonists, at once workmen and soldiers, after being busied all day with the labors of their various occupations, mount guard during the night. Holidays they pass in reviews and in gun and rifle practice.

Although this colony, established fifteen years ago, appears to lack nothing, it cannot be of great account to the company which founded it. The principal revenue upon which they had reckoned was based upon the sea otter and seal fishing. The first is about exhausted, and no longer supplies anything. As for the other, the director maintains the whole year a hundred Kodiaks upon the Farrallones, as I have said elsewhere. This fishing, which was at first very productive, becomes less plentiful from day to day, and within some years will be entirely null; but the director, counting no more except secondarily upon these products, has been for several years busied chiefly with husbandry. Not only does he produce corn and vegetables which heretofore he obtained from California, but also he supplies the larger colony of Sitka. With only six hundred cows, he procured more butter and cheese than entire Upper California with her numberless herds.

All these advantages do not prevent the colony of Ross from arousing in the traveler only sombre and melancholy thoughts; and I attribute the cause of it to the fact that society here is incomplete. The director is a bachelor, and has no woman in his house; all the Russian colonists are in the same situation. There are then only the women of the Kodiaks and of the Indians in the settlement; but whatever be the relations which may be formed between these women and the Russians, the stranger, to whom they are objects of disgust, considers this little population as no less deprived of a sex whose mere presence makes life bearable. The labors usually reserved for women are here the portion of the men; and this, shocking to the eye, weighs upon the heart and gives rise to a pain which one feels in spite of one's self, even before having discovered the true cause for it.

We went with M. Shelikof to see his felling of wood. Independently of the needs of the establishment, he cuts a great quantity of boards, small beams, thick planks, etc., which he sells in California, the Sandwich Islands and elsewhere: he has even entire houses built which may then be transported taken





1811

Plan de l'établissement rural de la Vendée,  
à la suite de la Nouvelle France en 1811

Paris, chez la Citoyenne de la Vendée



apart. The trees he cuts are almost all firs of various species, and in particular the one called *palo colorado* (redwood). This fir has no other quality than that of being very regular, and to be split with the greatest ease; besides, it is but slightly resinous and quite brittle. It is the largest tree I have ever seen. M. Shelikof made me observe the cut trunk of a fir of this species recently felled: it was twenty feet in diameter, taking this measurement two feet from the ground, and from one edge or relief to the other; the whole trunk was more than thirteen feet wide: I measured two hundred and thirty feet from the stump to the beginning of the top, remaining where it had been parted from the trunk. Think of the enormous quantity of boards that a tree of this size should produce! The piles of them made from it covered a considerable extent of ground. All the *palos colorados* are not so immense; but it is very common to see those which three men would have difficulty in clasping, and which would make, of one single piece, the lower masts of our largest warships.

We were treated with most distinguished hospitality by M. Shelikof, and we passed a very pleasant night at his house. Unfortunately neither Dr. Botta nor I understood Russian, and the director spoke neither French nor English nor Spanish. This inconvenience made us lose a large part of the charm his company would have afforded us. It was, however, in Spanish we succeeded the best to make ourselves understood. I did but little business with him: an American ship had preceded me hither, and had gathered almost all the furs this settlement had. I sold him only to the value of some hundreds of sealskins. The next day I arose early, and went to a hill to the east to make a drawing of the citadel, as may be seen in the plate accompanying this volume. After breakfast we mounted our horses to return to the port, whence we set sail the next morning.

During the three days we remained in Bodega Bay, it blew freshly from the northwest, and though the ship was sheltered, and the sea was smooth, we broke our second chain there. It was the second time that a similar accident had occurred to this cable: on arriving at Monterey from Peru it had also broken in a strong northwest breeze. We found there a skilful blacksmith who had repaired it, and had changed seven links which were unsafe. This iron cable was, however, very good on our leaving Le Havre, and during two years' use we had had numerous opportunities to know its strength. After having withstood in squalls and high seas, it failed us now in very ordinary circumstances. It must not, then, be believed that chains are everlasting; they wear out like everything else.

This accident made me note two main causes of deterioration in this kind of cable. The first comes from rust which, to a certain degree, cannot be avoided, and which acts incessantly upon iron; the thought occurring to me to measure the thickness of this one, I found that, in two years, its diameter had diminished a line and a half, without the links having changed their form. This examination led me to the discovery of the other cause of shortening the duration of chains. I noticed that a part of the links which had been in the water were riddled with small holes, often a line deep, like worm-holes. The end always remaining on board, and the other end resting customarily on the bottom, were free from this

alteration which appeared to have attacked only the middle part. After long reflection upon this singularity, I remained persuaded that it was due, either to the action of copper upon iron, an action well proved, which has made it necessary to nail and bolt with copper the ships sheathed with this metal, or to a galvanic effect resulting from the contact of these two materials. When a ship is moored with chains, there is nearly always one touching the sheathing, or coming very near to it; even this is not the only case when this contact occurs. It is in those moments that the iron of the chain is exposed to the corrosive influence of the oxide of copper, acting the more quickly as the combination takes place in the water.

I leave to persons better versed than myself in chemical science to estimate the value of these observations. If the truth of this were recognized, the means for avoiding the evil, in part, would be always to leave very relaxed the chain not working; so that, falling vertically to the bottom, it would be as far as possible from the keel of the ship. Another way, used till now for another end, can fulfill this object still better; this is to have the two anchors clinched upon the two ends of the same chain alongside each other upon the bottom; a second very short chain catches the first at the spot judged suitable, and is joined to it by a swivel-ring; so that the ship, truly moored, seems to be on only one anchor. It can be understood that, in this manner, the chains will never come near the sheathing.

The day after our departure from Bodega, we cast anchor at Monterey. We remained there only for the time necessary to take in some money owed the trade; and we left, the 14th, for Santa Bárbara. As it was summer, and sea winds were not to be feared, we anchored in six fathoms, inside the algae, three cable's lengths from the beach. My aim, in coming to this presidio, was to take again some powder and rifles M. R..... had left there, and to continue to get rid of the articles still with me.

I learned, on arriving here, that the president of the mission, Antonio Ripoll, perhaps foreseeing calamitous events, and disgusted with his situation, very different from what it had been originally, had escaped with Padre Altimira. They had contrived their plan with much secrecy, and had embarked on board the American brig the *Harbinger*, which was returning to the United States.

This circumstance made clear to me why, at my former stop here, Fray Antonio, knowing I was the bearer of a draft for seven thousand francs on the English government, begged me earnestly to give it to him for piastres, an offer which I accepted. He had undoubtedly already conceived the plan of leaving California. On buying from me this bill of exchange, he had declared to me that this money belonged to him, and that it came from the stipends of four hundred piastres a year granted to each missionary by the Spanish government. I had too high an opinion of this religious to believe it otherwise; and when some persons told me that, on leaving, he had carried away large sums, I did not give credit to these injurious assertions. Padre Ripoll had been replaced by a young Mexican, educated under less rigid principles, politically speaking, than the Spanish Franciscans.



The 24th, the feast of Saint John was celebrated with much pomp. All the people at the presidio, and strangers, were invited to dine at the mission. After the repast, amusements were begun by the indispensable bull-fights. At the end of two hours of this cruel and barbarous exercise, the Indians resorted to much more agreeable and less dangerous games.

A greased pole loaded with clothes and pieces of stuff was planted in the middle of the square. We amused ourselves for a long time with the futile efforts the first ones made who tried to climb it; finally, by dint of scraping the grease covered pole, and spreading ashes and dust over it, the prizes were reached by an Indian from Lower California, gifted with an agility of which he gave several proofs during the afternoon. A number of times he contended for, and won, the prize for various races, and it was in vain that the best runners at the mission confederated against him. He was a youth twenty-two years of age, perfectly formed; although he did not appear of a robust constitution, in every part of his body there was nothing to be desired for symmetry of proportion and beauty of form. A light piece of stuff was about his loins; and when he was running nothing concealed from sight the vigor and grace of his movements.

The padre taking advantage of the circumstance to distribute gifts among his Indians, all competed for the prizes; women and children, old men and young girls, all showed their nimbleness, each one according to his strength and age.

Those whose faculties had been enfeebled by the years showed what still remained to them; and those whose vigor was still far from full development gave the measure of that which time should one day grant them.

Dancing followed the racing, and we were much diverted by it. As I have said before, this exercise is merely a kind of pantomime, accompanied by monotonous and melancholy songs in perfect time. The grotesque costume of the dancers, adorned with feathers and painted in all sorts of colors, lends to their features so wild an appearance and so strange a character that one would be tempted to believe they were arousing themselves to battle rather than to pleasure.

The next day, having nothing more to do at Santa Bárbara, we weighed anchor and, twenty-four hours later, we moored in San Pedro Bay. The 27th, some men and horses appeared upon the cliff; I landed and went to the pueblo of Los Angeles and to San Gabriel Mission.

At Padre Sanchez's home I found the president of the Dominican missions of Lower California, named Luna, who was here on a visit, accompanied by Fray Feliz Caballero, one of his fellow-members: two other Franciscan missionaries were found here also: it seemed that this gathering of religious had been convoked expressly to hear read the famous decree of expulsion of the Spanish, which had just arrived from Mexico.

This decree, expressed in a great number of articles, compelled, with very few exceptions, all the Spaniards, of whatever rank and condition they might

be, to leave the territory of the republic in the short time of a month. I leave it to all to imagine the effect it was to produce upon the personages I have just spoken of; nevertheless, it was different between the Franciscans and the Dominicans. The former uttered loud cries against the law, called the Mexican government tyrannical and infamous; and in the first moment of their just discontent, they asked me to convey them to Manila, on the *Héros*; but the latter, educated and nourished in other principles, sought rather if they could not discover, in the decree's clauses, some expression which might save them from the general proscription. Padre Luna, born in Mexico, was protected from the law; and while weakly uniting with the Franciscans in their indignation, he was not, perhaps, sorry for the misfortune overwhelming those whose conduct condemned his own. He tried to comfort Fray Feliz, and to persuade him that, by a frank submission to the republican principles, he could find favor with the government.

I myself deplored the sad situation the Spaniards were going to be in, in Mexico; for it was easy to recognize, in the contemptuous expressions of the decree, the animosity dictating it and the interested views of the patriots. The general congress, in putting forth this law, had left to the executive power the right to extend for six months the limit of time for departure; but the president of the republic, acting with unheard of severity, had, by his ordinance, set it at only one month. Now how can it be imagined that, in so little time, these unfortunate people could realize on their wealth and go to sea? There could not be enough ships, even, for so large a number of passengers. Not only was their ruin certain; but it was also much to be feared that, gathering together in the ports in too great numbers, and not finding immediate means for transport, they would become the victims of some popular uprising, excited by the Yorkinos, their mortal enemies.

From this moment I thought seriously of transporting to Manila those of the missionaries who would like to go, and the few Spanish individuals settled in California and affected by the proscription. But though the decree was as precise for the friars as for the others, it was to be presumed that the commandant general would not let them leave before others should come to replace them, convinced as he ought to be that, if the missions remained at the mercy of the Indians, they would be at once robbed and destroyed.

The Indians, certainly, are not susceptible to great reasoning; but they are not ignorant of the fact that, according to the conditions under which they are made Christians, the missions belong to them: neither is great sagacity necessary to them in order to see that the government regard these properties as belonging to the domain of the state; and if from attachment to, and respect for, the padres, they remain in submission, it would be so no longer had they to work for the Mexicans whom they hate. At all events, I wrote to the *padre prefecto* at Monterey, to acquaint him with my designs, and the stipulations for the passage, if his wish and circumstances favored my plan.

After some trading with the padres and the people at the pueblo, I returned

to the harbor. The next day, the 3d, as we began to veer upon our chain that we might raise the anchor, we saw, steering for the anchorage, an American ship which I recognized as the *Courier*, Captain Cunningham; I ordered the cable run out anew, designing to sell him some hundreds of hides I had received in exchange. As soon as this ship was anchored, I went on board, and finished the trade: the skins were promptly trans-shipped, and we finally set sail for San Diego where we arrived the next day.

## XIX

*The affair of the American ship Franklin. — It leaves the harbor in spite of the fort's guns. — The padre prefecto's letter. — We take on a load of horses. — Return of the Waverley. — M. R..... is not on board. — Shipwreck of the Teignemouth. — We leave California. . . .*

The further is a man from his native country, the more he feels he needs support. At such a time, to a Parisian, every Parisian is a relative; to a Frenchman, every Frenchman is a friend; to an European, every European is a compatriot, a fellow-citizen. The sailor stretches much farther still this community of sentiments. It is enough for him that a man's name be inscribed upon the list of the crew of any ship whatever, to consider him as a child belonging to the great family, as a brother; he will welcome him, defend him, sacrifice himself for him; but, above all, he will look at it as disgraceful to serve as an instrument in every measure having for an object the molestation of a man of his profession. In this chapter will be found an incident in which was displayed this sympathetic alliance uniting the entire crew of the *Héros*.

Entering the port of San Diego, we anchored in the position we had always occupied; but immediately I received the order to go up farther, without being given any reason for this change; I had merely noticed that three American ships, which were in the harbor, were drawn up in echelons over the whole length of the channel: the one farthest within was the three-master *Franklin*, anchored five miles from us; the schooner-brig *Clio* was in an intermediate position, and the brig *Andes* was near us.

It was only some instants after we had anchored, when an officer, named Ramirez, appeared upon the beach and hailed us for a boat, which was sent to him, manned by four men, and which returned without him. The sailors I had sent reporting to me that he demanded an officer of the ship, I suspected some misunderstanding, and went myself on shore. Reaching the land, I asked him why he was not come in the boat. "I did not consider it fitting," he said to me; "you should have sent an officer to receive me." This unusual and unseasonable claim angered me greatly. "The boat I sent you and which I have just been using ought to be sufficient," I answered him, "for the envoy of a government which have not even a canoe at their disposal. Such a vanity cannot be agreeable to me; and if you have received orders to take my declarations, you can embark with me; but no officer will accompany you on your return to land: now you are the master to decide as suits you."

Seeing I took him in this way, he made awkward excuses, giving as a reason for his behavior that he had been badly received by other captains. At last he decided to come on board, and after having completed his mission, I sent him ashore, with no other retinue than the boatmen. I had been the more stubborn with this republican as he enjoyed a bad reputation, and had been very recently accused of murder. Hence I was not sorry to find the opportunity to show my little consideration for him.

When, the next day, I went to the presidio, the commandant general, after some moments' conversation, asked me if I could sell him a boat; seeing that, he said, the harbor had none and could not do without one. I fancied the censure I had spoken the day before to Ramirez was the chief reason for causing this request, and it came the more conveniently as I had aboard all the materials necessary for building a boat of twenty-four feet, which I was intending to have made during my stay at San Diego. I agreed, therefore, to his request, and at once we settled on the price of the boat, in the condition it was in. If I mention a fact of so little importance at first sight, it is because it occasioned me, some days later, a real regret.

When at San Pedro, I had been informed that the American ship, the *Franklin*, Captain [John] Bradshaw, suspected of having carried on smuggling in the Gulf of Cortez, found herself at San Diego under a kind of arrest; that is, the commandant general had given him permission to pursue his course of trade in California only under very troublesome restrictions: among other duties laid upon Captain Bradshaw, he saw himself compelled to unload into the storehouses of the government a portion of his merchandise valued at thirteen thousand piastres (65,000 fr.), to answer for the duties he might have to pay at a future time.

Everything, nevertheless, appeared to be arranged, when a vagrant, named William Sinson [Simpson] (I am sorry to say he belonged to the same nation as the cruel *mayordomo* of Santa Bárbara), whom Captain Bradshaw had had the humanity to shelter on board his ship, where he had fed and clothed him, appeared before the general and declared under oath that the *Franklin* had defrauded the duties at Loreto and at San José del Cabo, introducing into his accusation many true or false statements which greatly compromised the captain.

Things were in this way when we reached San Diego; but I was still ignorant of this latter incident when the general bought from me the boat in question. I had no sooner learned that they intended to place a garrison aboard the *Franklin*, and were taking precautions to prevent her leaving the harbor, than I felt how unfortunate I was to have concluded a bargain which could hurt Captain Bradshaw, in giving the general the means of transporting troops to his ship. The self-same night I boarded the *Franklin*; I imparted to the captain my position, and I promised him to use every means to delay the delivery of the boat.

This affair went from bad to worse, and the discussion grew warm to the point that they tried to seize the captain, and they threatened to fire upon him, when he withdrew in his boat. At last, on the general intending to force him to



unload all his cargo, he determined to leave the port whatever might happen. The night of the 10th, the *Franklin* changed her anchorage, and came to moor herself near us; which put the entire presidio into an uproar.

The morning of the 11th, a troop of horsemen appeared opposite the *Héros*, and came to a stop near the tent where our carpenters were working. Immediately my men hoisted the signal agreed upon, asking for me; and landing, I found the general himself, surrounded by his staff of officers. He told me he would like to have me deliver to him the boat I had sold him, and for which he had the most pressing need, without telling me what use he wished to make of it. Well prepared for this request, I replied that I judged this boat useless for his service, because I did not think I should be able to furnish it with oars. "Try to find some for it," he said to me. "You will render me an eminent service." Not to awaken his suspicions, I promised him to search for them; but in the bottom of my heart I was firmly resolved not to find any before the departure of the *Franklin*.

At the moment I was going to return to the ship, an aide-de-camp drew me aside and tried to obtain from me one of my manned boats, in order to carry he said, a letter on board the *Franklin*; this attempt, whose real end I guessed, was again useless. "Tell the general," I replied to him, "that seeing the situation that ship is in, I cannot, without compromising myself with my government, and with that of the United States, grant him his request. If the general wishes to use violence, he can, on his own responsibility, seize my boats when they land, but I shall not lend them to him in that case." But to spare him the temptation of this, I reembarked and returned to the ship.

After some hours, I wrote him that my efforts had been in vain; that I had not been able to find oars for the boat, without stripping my other boats; and that, consequently, this one being of no possible use to him without oars, I begged him to consider the sale as not having taken place. In this way I gained a part of the day, hoping, from moment to moment, to see the *Franklin* set sail; but she did not do so.

Early the next morning, I received a letter from the general, who begged me earnestly to deliver to him the boat in the condition it was in, recalling to me my given word. There was no longer any expedient for delay without compromising myself. I had it conveyed, therefore, to the shore, but *as it leaked*,<sup>1</sup> and needed caulking, I had it hauled up on the beach while the tide was high, so that it remained dry at a pretty considerable distance from the water.

But they had discovered in the fort four galley oars thirty feet long, which had been there since the coming of the Spanish. The carpenters at the presidio set about diminishing and reducing them to a suitable proportion; but while they were still uncertain whether they should trim them by the blade or by the handle, Captain Bradshaw, who was ready, paid out his cable, and, spreading all sail, started for the way out of the bay, leaving officers and soldiers amazed,

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<sup>1</sup> The ship's caulker, entering into my views, had been careful to make certain of this.

and unable to understand how a ship which, a minute before, seemed so firmly fixed on her anchors, had in a trice so completely altered the situation.

Here I might have told by what ingenious manoeuvres Captain Bradshaw had known how to hide his plan from the still intent eyes of the Mexican officers; how his sails, which appeared as closely furled on their yards as on parade day, were suddenly displayed without a man appearing to put hand to them, and by what means the ship, which presented her prow toward the inner part of the bay, turned, like a man, to the opposite side; but I leave to the ingenious Fenimore Cooper to render, with so engaging truth, these nautical scenes, the painting of which belongs only to him, if not, however, also to the author of *Le Négrier*.<sup>2</sup>

The *Franklin* could not go out except by passing within less than two hundred fathoms from the fort, a distance from which good gunners would have been able to do her much harm. As soon as the garrison had cognizance of his manoeuvre, they began a fire which lasted during the twenty minutes the ship needed, first to come to the most critical point, and then to withdraw beyond reach of the guns. Thirty-six or forty balls fired at her during this interval caused no other apparent damage than the fall of the flying-jib, whose halyard was cut.<sup>3</sup> Captain Bradshaw was in the wrong on this occasion in one respect; it was in replying with two balls as he passed. Thus was ended a discussion which had spread apprehension in all California.

Toward the end of July, I received the padre prefecto's answer, who thanked me for my offers. "I am resolved," he said, "to forsake the flock Heaven has entrusted to me only when violence shall be used to separate me from them. I have made to God the sacrifice of myself, of my freedom and of my life, for my soul's salvation: I would not take a step which was not directed toward that end. I have written to all of my subordinates to make known to them my opinion and to pledge them to follow the same line of conduct. It would be another thing if, instead of hunting me from this place, they should force me to do something against the testimony of my conscience: let come, then, what Jesus Christ said to his disciples: 'When they shall persecute you in this city, flee ye into another'."

This letter took from me all hope of having the padres for passengers; for I knew well they would not act against the principles of their bishop, or of him who filled the duties of one. I altered my plan, therefore, and to make use of the ship, I resolved to take on board for the Sandwich Islands as many horses as the number of water vessels I could procure would permit me. I was told these animals had always sold well here, and I had to spend but little for their food. I employed the crew at once in cutting hay in the neighborhood, and I commissioned a trustworthy person to buy horses for me, while the casks were

<sup>2</sup> M. E. Corbière, editor of *Le Journal du Havre*. [Born 1793; naval officer in his youth; published various stories; died 1875.]

<sup>3</sup> We found this ship later at the Sandwich Islands. The Mexican artillerymen had been more skillful than we had at first thought: she received two large balls in the hull and two others in the rigging, which had necessitated changing the main and mizzen yards.

being prepared, and the carpenters were putting the finishing touches to the new boat.

The 23d, all was ready for departure; the hay and water were aboard, the horses bought and ready to ship: I had settled my accounts with the general and with the custom-house. We were preparing to say an eternal farewell to California, when an incident, which compells me to return once more to M. R....., brought some days' delay to our departure. It was costing me a good deal to leave behind me the large sum he had in his power, and though I was not responsible for this loss, it was not without regret and hesitation that I saw myself forced to leave California without having recovered it. But I had no news of this inexplicable person, who had long ago allowed to pass the time set by himself for his return. I might believe him lost; but I ascribed his delay rather to the heedlessness and levity of his character, which could again have led him to change his plans. Only a few goods, the remains of the cargo, were left with me. The provisions I had renewed at Lima were being consumed every day; having no more than a very little biscuit, I was obliged to buy flour in the missions at a very high price, in order to reach the Sandwich Islands, where I was sure of procuring biscuit on board the whaling ships putting in there. I could not, therefore, remain longer waiting for M. R....., and still less go in search of him in the season we were in. So I had, as has been seen, rejected all hesitation, when the *Waverley* appeared. Contrary to my hope, M. R..... was not on board. I learned from the captain's report and from letters he himself addressed to me, all that had occurred to him since his leaving Monterey. My conjectures were verified. All the values he had taken were squandered, as a sequel to his indiscreet conduct and his incapability. I congratulated myself for having decided, and nothing more remained to me than to follow my plan, the only one suiting the condition of affairs, and which was in the interest of the owners of the vessel.

The *Waverley* brought back the captain, the supercargo and the crew of the English ship *Teignemouth* from Calcutta. The total loss of this ship in San José del Cabo Bay, from a desire to take on a cargo of horses in July, is a confirmation of what I have said of the seasons of Lower California: a southeast hurricane had surprised them at anchor, and the crew were only saved by a miracle from this frightful catastrophe.

The supercargo and the captain came to my ship and asked me for passage, for them and their men, to the Sandwich Islands. I had no other objection to make to them than the difficulty of procuring an additional supply of water; but the supercargo, having obtained some casks from the other ships, we agreed on the very moderate price of passage; and the 27th, we finally left California where we had spent nearly two years.

[Continuing his voyage around the world, Duhaut-Cilly arrived at Honolulu early in October, where he remained until the middle of November. Here he had

an interview with Boki, the regent for the young king, Kamehameha III, regarding M. R..... He says:

At the beginning of November the ship was loaded, and we were ready to sail for Canton. I did not wish to leave Anaroura [Honolulu] without having settled about the claimed powers M. R..... had arrogated to himself; and, on account of my responsibility, I begged the English and American consuls to be present at the explanation I wished to have with the regent Boki, of whom I asked a conference on this matter. A Spaniard, named Marini, settled in this country for a number of years, was there also, as the government's interpreter. It is useless to relate all I learned in this meeting: it will suffice to know that M. R....., while acting in the name of this government, had played the rôle of a sharper and intriguer. I had delivered to me the written proofs of his bad faith, signed by the regent, the consuls from England and from the United States, and the interpreter.

The 15th of November, Duhaut-Cilly left the Sandwich Islands for Canton; after visiting various places in China he went to Macao, and left there, the 26th of March, 1829, for home, where he arrived, the 19th day of July, at Le Havre.]



## CALIFORNIA'S BANTAM COCK"

THE JOURNALS OF CHARLES E. DE LONG, 1854-1863

*Edited by Carl I. Wheat*

(CONTINUED)

### THE JOURNAL FOR THE YEAR 1855\*

#### FEBRUARY 1855

Tue. 13, — Went and escorted Miss Hammon to town had a party in the evening.

Wed. 14, — Attended a Ball at Youngs hill with Miss Hammon.

Thu. 15, — Returned by slow marches spent the afternoon in sleep.

Fri. 16, — Took her home.

[No entries February 17 to 28, inc.]

#### MARCH 1855

Thu. 1, — Saw H. C Hall<sup>1</sup> just from M'ville. F Davis came up. got ready to go below

Fri. 2, — Went to Marysville to be qualified for Deputy Sheriff. Went to M Greys residence with Judge Bliss saw the whole family very pleasant

Sat. 3, — Run around town with Bliss F Reis &c took dinner a la Francais with Reis & Varmun was sworn in to my office

Sun. 4, — Came back home all right. commence raining finely

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\* During the year 1855 De Long lived part of the time at Oregon Hill, but for the most part at Foster's Bar in the gorge of the North Yuba. Until early March he worked in a store and evidently kept his interest in the "Citizen Saloon" which had been opened by Frank Davis and De Long at Oregon Hill on December 6 of the preceding year. On March 2, however, he took probably the most important step in his career, since it led him to the study of law. On that day he went to Marysville, and the next day he took the oath as deputy sheriff. His chief duties for the time consisted in rounding up luckless Chinamen and collecting from them the notorious "Foreign Miners' Tax," which was a sort of poll tax collectible each month. (See Note 4.)

As deputy sheriff, De Long also had a hand in the collection of other taxes, and became acquainted with the proceedings of the mountain Justice of the Peace courts. Each camp had its local magistrate with certain limited but very important judicial powers, and as bailiff in these minor courts of law De Long had his first taste of legal life. Into this atmosphere the able and contentious youth fitted admirably, and, commencing on September 15, we find him "tending court" with more and more regularity as the year progresses.

To one familiar with the rough mountain country of the Upper Yuba, De Long's tax collecting jaunts cannot fail to be of consuming interest. The very names of many of the populous mining camps of these wild ridges have been lost, and in other localities only a lone cabin or an ancient apple tree remains to recall the teeming life of the early "fifties," for the pines have grown up even over the burying places of the dead, and Nature has hastened to take back her own.

In December, George F. King joined De Long in purchasing the store of one G. Cattermole at Young's Hill, near Camptonville, and on the thirteenth, the youth went to Marysville and bought a stock of goods. On the twentieth he moved to Young's Hill, and a rather serious scrape anent a certain Miss Flinn caused his Foster's Bar stay to end in near disaster. The year ended with a "fit" and "another turn of the horrors," it appearing that De Long was frequently subject to headaches and other manifestations of a none too robust constitution.

Mon. 5, — Still a raining wet and sloppy. saw Langton<sup>2</sup> told me he would [illegible word] of the Express business again raining hard

Tue. 6, — D[itt]o today steady as a clock

Wed. 7, — Let up a little but showery and chilly

Thu. 8, — Much the same

Fri. 9, — Raining like blazes Went to Oak Valley<sup>3</sup> By the way of the New York Bridge stopped all night in Camptonville

Sat. 10, — Received my blank licenses<sup>4</sup> from Gray

[No entries from March 12 to 14, inc.]

Thu. 15, — Started with Frank collecting went to Youngs Hill, Oak Valley, Woods Bridge<sup>5</sup> and Negro slide<sup>6</sup> stopped there all night met with ordinary success.

Fri. 16, — Followed the river to Slate Range<sup>7</sup> had an auction collected some & then returned to Oregon Hill and attended a Ball at Strouds waited upon Miss Robins

Sat. 17, — Remained a[t] home worn down had a poor Ball and poorer accommodations sworn off Ball going

Sun. 18, — Started out collecting struck the river at Oregon Bar<sup>8</sup> went to French Bar<sup>9</sup> Pittsburgh<sup>10</sup> an[d] Missouri Bar<sup>11</sup> staid there all night very hard days work

Mon. 19, — Went from there to Sucker, Willow, Alabama, Missisipi [sic] Wambos<sup>12</sup> & S Range staid there all night very tired poor fare to day no dinner

Tue. 20, — Came down to Atchison's Bar<sup>13</sup> took dinner at Foster's collected all day done well returned home and met a drove<sup>14</sup> searched and left them.

Wed. 21, — Went to Bennets Ranch<sup>15</sup> took three of Cole & Stevens<sup>16</sup> mules on Execution took them home and put them up

Thu. 22, — Staid home waiting for licenses reced 200 prepared for the road stopped three Drovers in town most all broke

Fri. 23, — Crossed the river at Bullards Bar went to Hesse's thence up the river to Emorys<sup>17</sup> had a time with the Chinese stayed all night

Sat. 24, — Went down to the little Yuba<sup>18</sup> thence up shot a Chinaman had a hell of a time returned home by way of Fosters.

Sun. 25, — Started out struck the river at English Bar thence to Kanaka and Winslows Bars<sup>19</sup> had an auction took down some tents & went up the Hill to Dobbins

Mon. 26, — Went to Missouri Bar was taken sick [illegible word] Frank went down with a hired man to Condemned Bar<sup>20</sup> and stopped all night

Tue. 27, — Run the hill to Dobbins layed off very unwell Frank returned got a ride home in a buggy with Mix Smith<sup>21</sup>

Wed. 28, — Almost confined to bed

Thu. 29, — the same today raining very hard

Fri. 30, — Not much better still a storming

# LANGTON'S PIONEER EXPRESS.



NEW



ARRANGEMENT.

Increased Facilities for the Prompt Trans-  
action of the Express Business

**IN ALL ITS BRANCHES.**

The undersigned will continue the EXPRESS AND FORWARDING BUSINESS as heretofore carried on by S. W. LANGTON; and under his special supervision will, from and after the first day of November, run a DAILY FREIGHT AND TREASURE EXPRESS, in charge of our own Messengers, through from

**Downieville to San Francisco,**  
and as heretofore, embrace all points on the route.

S. W. LANGTON, Downieville.  
N. N. WILKINSON, Marysville.  
CHAS. P. STONE, San Francisco.

Sat. 31, — Still storming still sick but better living with P. McKeon<sup>22</sup> reced a letter with lithograph from M W. N.

## APRIL 1855

Sun. 1, — Much better; heavy Rain and hail storms

Mon. 2, — Election for Supervisor considerable excitement Whitcomb<sup>23</sup> Elected

Tue. 3, — Went to Marysville took down \$1349.00 stopped at the U S saw Dean &c got my daugerreotype taken but so poor that I would not bring it away

Wed. 4, — Returned from M'ville brought up 400 Licenses collected \$48, from Chinese in Stage, got ready for the road

Thu. 5, — Took the Stage for Stanfields<sup>24</sup> from there afoot across the Honcut<sup>25</sup> got in But[t]e Co collected \$28.00 stopped at the Whitehall Hotel<sup>26</sup>

Fri. 6, — Left for the Honcut followed it up to Natchez<sup>27</sup> crossed to ridge to Brown[s]ville<sup>28</sup> went from there to the head of Sharon Valley<sup>29</sup> & down to the mills coll[ected] \$40.00 staid all night at the N Y Ranch.<sup>30</sup>

Sat. 7, — Started for home arrived safe had a ball in the evening Mrs Nuttals down from Youngs after the Ball had a private snap at Flinn's<sup>31</sup>

Sun. 8, — Went out walking with Miss H. spent the day very pleasant went down the creek and then up and across the Milk Ranch<sup>32</sup> gathered flowers made boquets &c

Mon. 9, — Frank went to Willow creek<sup>33</sup> I staid home and coll[ected] \$44 went to a Negro concert with Miss H, poor performance went home in the rain and mud like to never got back myself

[This concludes the entries in the small Diary for 1855. No entries from April 10 to July 13, inc. Entries in the larger Diary for 1855 begin with July 14.]

## JULY 1855

Sat. 14, — Held our meeting in Fosters was appointed a delegate with G Frank & Dr Crowell<sup>34</sup>

Mon. 16, — Went to Convention at the Oregon house, had a great time run for Assessor got beat by 5 votes by Crittenden, run for Assembly got beat by 3 votes by Buckkeugh

[No entries from July 17 to 26, inc.]

Fri. 27, — Left Emorys in the morning came down the River to the mouth of Oregon Creek<sup>35</sup> run out of Licenses came home hired a mule started about 6 Oclock in the evening for M'ville arrived safe and sound about 2 Oclock at night stopped at the Merchants<sup>36</sup>

Sat. 28, — Got up at six oclock saw Felton<sup>37</sup> Started for home mule tuckered out and did not reach home till night well used up

Sun. 29, — Went with J Renshaw collecting down the North Fork to the



junction and up the Middle to Hatfields<sup>38</sup> stopped all night, done well collected 98 Licenses.

Mon. 30, — Went up the River to Hesse's bothered about there all day hired Hiram Works,<sup>39</sup> hunted Chinamen in the night,<sup>40</sup> done very well collected about 80 Licenses, stopped all night at Hesse's,

Tue. 31, — Worked about there all the forenoon went up Moonshine creek<sup>41</sup> and over home hired Thompson in the evening and tried to clean up Fosters and Atchison's Bar's only caught nine making in all during the day about 29 Licenses

# AUGUST 1855

Wed. 1, — Hired a Mule and went to Mississippi Bar by the way of Barkers Ranch<sup>42</sup> and Hampshire Mills<sup>43</sup> collected one hundred and sixty two dollars came home arrived about dark saw a couple of fancy gentlemen on the road

Thu. 2, — Went to Marysville saw W Cornell tight A Rapplega with his leg broke knocked around all the evening with G Mix<sup>44</sup> and W. Towles, stopped at the Merchants and took supper and at the Western<sup>45</sup> all night took down with me \$2949.00

Fri. 3, — Loafed around town all night settled with Gray for Licenses Executions and Restitutions &c for the month as usual I had but little cash left, stopped all night at Segar Store —

Sat. 4, — Got up all right came home with G Mix and W. Towle, nothing for Excitement but the famous Know Nothing Convention<sup>46</sup> at the Keystone Ranch,<sup>47</sup> stopped at the Ranch but a few minutes

Sun. 5, — Remained home prepared for the road bought a revolver of Cramer & Co. belt &c

Mon. 6, — Started with Frank he gave out went back and sent up J Hopkins took dinner at N Y Ranch went thence to Sharon Mills and down Dry Creek<sup>48</sup> to Jefferson House,<sup>49</sup> took some notes about Know Nothings, Coll \$32.00 Expenses necessary, \$3.50 besides wages; extra \$1.00

Tue. 7, — Went on down the Creek to Martin House<sup>50</sup> only collected \$8.00 took stage to Keystone took dinner, no money from Dodge & Lockwood sent Jim home in Stage sick, saw Jackson about papers, Went to Dobbins Ranch and put up Necessary Expenses \$8.00 Extra D[it]o \$8.00

Wed. 8, — Left Dobbins Ranch before breakfast in the morning went to Missouri Bar found that Sales and Banks had collected of all my men returned to the Keystone took dinner from thence home Coll[ected] \$8.00, Went to Camptonville to join the Odd fellows<sup>51</sup> was black balled; Necessary Expenses \$3.00 Extra D[it]o \$6.00

Thu. 9, — Stayed home and done nothing but read and write for the E[xpress] playe[d] Euchre with John Atchison Reced some papers of Jackson to serve on Borden, Broderick & Veal of New York flat<sup>52</sup> summons Attachment & guarnties [sic], gave Frank \$100.00 to go below with

Fri. 10, — Frank went below and I went to New York Flat, served my process on Borden, Mr. Steel<sup>53</sup> went below after Veal, made the acquaintance of Mr. Sayres Mr Spaulding, Mr More &c Expenses \$2.00

Sat. 11, — Stayed around all day, served the attachment, took an invoice of the stock, placed Mr Sayres in receiver, Stopped all night with More, went into the tunnels &c Expenses \$1.00

Sun. 12, — Went to Forbestown<sup>54</sup> with More, had a pleasant time bought some fruit for the girls and then got the fruit spoiled no introduction Expenses \$3.50. Politics running high plenty of Know Nothings &c

Mon. 13, — Swore the receiver paid bill \$5.00 at Spauldings returned home. paid Jo Kinville<sup>55</sup> \$20.—Mule hire; had a spree with the boys, danced with the Organ woman in the Bakery and had a good time generally

Tue. 14, — Loafed around home talked politics and done nothing generally. Received 300 Receipts three on a sheet

Wed. 15, — Filled out receipts, and sowed them in books, got ready for a cruise collecting hired Joseph Groves; wrote a letter for the Express<sup>56</sup> about C Bowie; waited till after supper and went to Long Bar<sup>57</sup> stopped with Dan Foley, hired him, J. McGary and Harry Chas to go up River

Thu. 16, — Started at Daybreak got to Oregon Bar paid Dan \$7.50 and Harry \$4.00 Stopped all night at Scotts Bar<sup>58</sup> had a China fight knocked down some and drewed our tools on the rest and they put out paid them \$5.00 for Dinner and supper

Fri. 17, — Started chopped down a wheel, went on done well, Dinner at Missouri Bar reached Alabama Bar after dark had another bit of a muss, made them keep us over night and in the morning paid them \$6.00 (two days no dinner either day) [lined out in original] paid \$3.00 for dinner, hot as blazes

Sat. 18, — Arose early collected \$200 before breakfast went up the River done well Eat Can Chicken and Melon at Mississippi Bar, sold out some Chinamen and Niggers, paid \$3.25 for dinner passed on and arrived at Slate Range after dark, and put up at Exchange; bill \$2.25

Sun. 19, — Went up the River to Cherokee Bar<sup>59</sup> done middling well returned home by Wood's Ranch,<sup>60</sup> got no dinner, tired as a dog collected \$1800.00 on the trip paid Jo McGearly \$20.00 wages.

Mon. 20, — Went to Camptonville, Weller, Bryan, Burnett, Haun, Belcher and Davenport<sup>61</sup> spoke good time plenty of enthusiasm, went to Youngs Hill, served Execution from [illegible word] Woods on Concert Hall and summons on Asa Ellis, had a good time spent about an ounce and got to bed at 3 O'clock in the morning saw Woods, Felton, and c

Tue. 21, — Got up about noon, Squaw and Jew had a fight Squaw came out ahead arrested them both fined \$20.00 I got \$10.00 and Woods \$10.00 got dinner and came down, paid Jo Kinville \$5.00 Horse hire;

Wed. 22, — Loafed around home wrote to Jim Mrs C E D L. and

M W N told them I wanted to know why they did not write to me; received 400. Receipts from M ville, filled out some engaged Jo Groves to go with me and Frank to go up to Long Bar

Thus. 23, — Started down to Bullards did no[t] go saw Mat Wood[s]<sup>62</sup> loaned him \$25. and C Felton \$50.00. paid J Paulson \$24.20 old debt bought shoes &c \$5.00 went to Ferry Bar<sup>63</sup> and Bullards collected off of 1 man came home, had a little dance B Towle came up and we went to Celestial Valley<sup>64</sup>

Fri. 24, — Started out collecting, loaned W Towles \$47½, bet T P Grier \$100—on Bigler<sup>65</sup> put the money in Dr Grove's<sup>66</sup> hands, went down as far as Eagle Canyon,<sup>67</sup> took Dinner with B P Hugg; stopped with Dick Lob—the fleas drove me out I got up and built a fire and set up all night in the rocks.

Sat. 25, — Started down the River to the Junction came from there up the Hill and home Paid J Kinville \$12.00 mule hire for Frank

Sun. 26, — Spent the day at home, sold my dust to T P Grier, 104½ oz's, at \$17.56, per oz. Rattled around town till night had a Melon Spree, H Landon stopped with me Loaned Hank \$10.00

Mon. 27, — Went to Nevada City,<sup>68</sup> notified the Sheriff that I intended prosecuting him for collecting Revenue in Yuba County, gave him until Sept the 1st to settle came back to the Oak Tree Ranch<sup>69</sup> and stopped all night, had a political argument. Expenses \$4.50.

Tue. 28, — Came home, paid horse hire \$10.00 Other Expenses \$8.00 K[now] N[othing]. speakers Messrs Gates and [blank] had a busy time keeping order among the boys, all went off well however.

Wed. 29, — Frank and Dr Fitch went to Middle Yuba. I collected around home off of Frenchmen, Niggers, Chinamen &c.

Thu. 30, — Frank still gone; done nothing but loaf. wrote three letters home &c Frank Returned his expenses \$12.00 did not do much

Fri. 31, — Collected a little on the Bar and got ready for going below total months collecting \$2904.00

## SEPTEMBER 1855

Sat. 1, — Went to Marysvill[e] settled with B Pickersgill,<sup>70</sup> Deputy Sheriff Mike and Charley being gone; bruised around town, reced several compliments &c Stopped with Camalieta

Sun. 2, — Started for home took breakfast at Zabriskies,<sup>71</sup> came on up, found Summons for Asa Ellis waiting me, went on up to Camptonville and served it.

Mon. 3, — Came home in the morning. Convention at the Oregon Hill House nominated Chas. Dannals. Started at 2 O'clock at night for Strawberry Valley<sup>72</sup> arrived there just at daylight saw Zoulon [possibly Youlon] told him to run and I would withdraw Dannals.

Tue. 4, — Came home in company with Bishop Sheldon;<sup>73</sup> well nigh used up, turned in at noon and slept sound until the next morning

Wed. 5, — Arose and went to work for Democracy and Victory got beat 7 votes on our own Bar and worse yet as far as heard from<sup>74</sup>

Thu. 6, — Stayed about home, did not feel very well no news only bad

Fri. 7, — Arose in the morning with a burning fever. Attended by Mrs. Stafford<sup>75</sup> with motherly care and affection, very sick all day

Sat. 8, — Still very unwell but better than yesterday

Sun. 9, — Got up and moved around some; filled some receipts for Frank.

Mon. 10, — Done nothing felt miserable the weather very hot

Tue. 11, — Went to Camptonville and served summons on Brook's, Justices Court returned home tired out

Wed. 12, — Went to Camptonville served six Suopaenas [sic] came home, attended Church in, Maxfield's K[now] Nothing Hall, Wrote to M W N.

Thu. 13, — Went up to Arthur Millers Ranch after my horse, could not find her, returned home, spent the afternoon and evening in writing letters home, had a small melon spree, and a good time.

Fri. 14, — Went to Willow Creek to serve Execution on Marion Shuler, could not find him

Sat. 15, — Trial between Campbell and Brooks came off, tended the court<sup>76</sup> Jury disagreed, shot 8 Chickens at one shot in the garden, had a hell of a time about it but a big supper on them. Rained some, very dark

Sun. 16, — Cloudy and cool, G E Noxon made his appearance.

Mon. 17, — Rained quite hard during the Evening, no Receipts came as yet, Went up and saw about getting Gill a berth. had one promised me.

Tue. 18, — Waiting for Receipts and Staying home; heard that they had been sent by the Stage Driver on Saturday went up to Camptonville and found them in the stable 500. — Returned home had a shooting match an[d] chicken Supper

Wed. 19, — Started out with, Gill, got as far as Winslows Bar and hired Patrick Lynch to accompany us also, collected down to N Y Bridge<sup>77</sup> and from there came over the ridge and stopped all night at Hatfield's Store; Sweetlands Crossing Middle Yuba \$9.00

Thu. 20, — Went up to River to Emory's got there about an hour after dark, Gill drunk on China Brandy, collected \$667. — Dinner at Hesse's \$4.00 — Frank drew \$8.00 — Expenses \$9 —.

Fri. 21, — Discharged Gill. Went up the River to Spring Valley,<sup>78</sup> returned to Emory's took dinner, Went to Oregon Creek thence up the Creek to Camptonville, and Oak Valley stopped there all night. Expenses for Dinner \$4.00 for Supper & Lodging \$3.00

Sat. 22, — Went down on the River at Sunrise, collected Cherokee Bar, had a Stand off with a John took breakfast at a Chilie Camp, had an Auction, took dinner at Finley's store Slate Range, came down, found



No. 4993

\$ 4.00

County of

1854.

THIS IS TO CERTIFY, that

has paid

POLL TAX for the year 1854.

Four

Dollars

COUNTY TREASURER

CLERK OF BOARD OF LOCALIZATION

*W. L. Adams*

Poll tax receipt in favor of "Chinaman" found in pocket of De Long's diary for 1855.



a hell's grist of them at the lower end of the Bar, Stopped all night at Wambo's Bar in old Store; Expenses Fare \$5.50 Halls wages \$2.00

Sun. 23, — Came down to Sucker Bar, poor luck, raised the hill and came home. Roasted Corn, and put the house in a fix at Nixons Ranch. sold my dust to T P Grier at \$17.55 per oz. \$1250.00. found Gill had taken some of my things.

Mon. 24, — Had a trial on the Bar between Brooks & Campbell, attended Court, Brooks defeated

Tue. 25, — Went to Camptonville to serve a writ of Restitution on Brooks was about to tear down the stoop and portico but they settled the matter, by Brooks paying costs and \$400.00 for the land; — Paid Dr Fitch \$6.00 for Medical Attendance \$3.00 for mule, \$2.00 for Expenses

Wed. 26, — Paid Cramer \$18. — for Pistol \$2.50 for shoes Collected on Bullards and Fosters, done well, went up to Stony Bar after night and stopped with Dan Foley.

Thu. 27, — Got up in the morning and got on Oregon Bar before daylight collected up to Pittsburgh met a man by the name of Woods went up to Willow Bar with him and served summons and attachment on J Hays returned home tired \$35— for it.

Fri. 28, — Stayed around home all day done nothing waited for Frank he did not come

Sat. 29, — Waited until noon for Frank hired two men and went after him found him at Stony Bar on a tight, came home, collected off of Italians and a heap of others, divided with Frank \$340— coming to me, collected on the month \$2736.00

Sun. 30, — Went to Marysville on the opposition<sup>79</sup> arrived safe about 4 Oclock run around with Burns.

# OCTOBER 1855

Mon. 1, — Settled with Felton, saw the K N Officials take their seats,<sup>80</sup> bought a few clothes Trunk &c

Tue. 2, — Returned home got in about dark met with several accidents

Wed. 3,—Loafed around Foster's all day, went up where they were working on the Road

Thu. 4, — Done the same today.

Fri. 5, — And the same

Sat. 6, — Done the same today only instead of working on the road, I worked playing billiards

Sun. 7, — Still at home doing nothing

Mon. 8, — Vainly expecting my receipts and waiting for them

Tue. 9, — At the same business

Wed. 10, — Ditto

Thu. 11, — The weather getting cloudy and cool,

Fri. 12, — Served summons and writ of attachment on Theodore Delemater; by Geo W. McHardy; issued by J M Crowell J[ustice of the] P[ea]ce] his first case<sup>81</sup>

Sat. 13, — Settled the case by Delemater's paying the bill and McHardy the costs; received 2.50 of Delemater for writing bill of sale

Sun. 14, — Loafed around home

Alex More swore out summons against W Smith & J D Worden; I served them and returned parties refused to appear and I then left in the night with J Greis with warrants went as far as New York Ranch

Mon. 15, — Left N Y Ranch in the morning went to Forbestown got warrant certified. proceeded to Smiths and arrested both men; I took Old man Worden after a row by Oroleva<sup>82</sup> met the other parties at Thomp[s]ons thence down the road to Fosters

Tue. 16, — Refused to serve Suopoenas [sic] in Criminal case and went collecting in the afternoon collected \$744.00. Attended court in the evening, summoned 28 Jurors, had a great time. Court adjourned until morning; took the prisoners in charge

Wed. 17, — Frank & Jack went up the River collecting. I attended Court Verdict of Jury not Guilty prisoners discharged the devil to pay

Thu. 18, — A Mistake in the journal has occurred of one day, as will be perceived [This refers to a double entry on Sunday, Oct. 14.]

Fri. 19, — Went to Indiana Ranch<sup>83</sup> with Rice and Silas Atchison they entered suit for damages before Thos McCubbins, I made out summons and subpoenas and then went and served them on Smith and Worden, stopped all night at the Abbott House<sup>84</sup>

Sat. 20, — Started and went to Oak Grove House to subpoena Mr. Abbott rode before the Stage all the way and came home tired enough. A negro minstrel performance at home went to it and took some girls

Sun. 21, — Loafing around doing nothing but picking up a few Chinamen whom their bad luck and my good threw in my way

Mon. 22, — At the same business

Tue. 23, — Started with Dick Wade and Bob Moulthrop collecting went to Oregon Creek, thence to Middle Yuba eat supper at Hesses Crossing went down the river in the night collected all of the way had a great time, Chinamen tails cut off.

Wed. 24, — Left Hatfields crossing and came around by the Junction sold all of my receipts making in all 500 for the month \$3000.00 in cash got nothing to eat in all day came nearer starving to death than ever I did before in my life, eat a pound of raisins without stopping to Breathe.

Thus. 25, — Parties appeared before McCubbins at Tolls Ranch,<sup>85</sup> McQuaide,<sup>86</sup> Jones and Sweazy<sup>87</sup> for the prosecution; and Crutsinger for defense quarreled about form of pleas and c and done nothing whilst I had to be Court Officer and all

Fri. 26, — Parties appeared at 10 oclock Lockwood<sup>88</sup> in addition; trial



concluded verdict in favor of Branch Turnpike Co for \$75.—costs \$2.16 percentage \$7.50 had a Champaign [sic] supper on the strength of it.

Sat. 27,—Rice swore out another summons for Smith, Execution issued an attachment in the case of J. M. Abbott vs Van Gundy attached load of goods, Levied upon Horses. Pigss, &c served summons and subpoena

Sun. 28,—Served Subpoenas in case, pending and then came home found a concert by Kelly on the tapis took two women to that and had a fine time

Mon. 29,—Nothing doing Men here with Caspur Hauser, went in

Tue. 30,—Went to Marysville took down money \$3000.00 for the month Saw Mat Woods and concluded to stop another day

Wed. 31,—Running around with Mat Gave Jack De Mott<sup>89</sup> \$25.00 to start a paper with, bought trunk for Mrs Stafford; paid bill for P McHardy at Crafts of \$155.00 Theodosia

# NOVEMBER 1855

Thu. 1,—Came home on the old line opposition sold out and gone in.<sup>90</sup>

Fri. 2,—Went over to McCubbins Suit tried by default and Judgment rendered against Smith; Execution issued I served it took 4 tons of Hay

Sat. 3,—Went to Hampshire Mills and held a trial of the rights of property by Sheriffs Jury of the rights of a claim on Willow Bar placed under attachment by me, Birch vs Woods, verdict for Defts; Attachment pronounced to be valid, and the property to belong to Hays in case of Woods vs Hays

Sun. 4,—Came as far as Abbott House found a Shooting match got off killed a hen made the best shot in the crowd got the Feather and dinner and came home

Mon. 5,—Loafed around doing nothing played poker and won \$16.00

Tue. 6,—Done the same today opened Faro and played poker, Receipts came up sewed them and filled them out; had a great talk with Mrs Dannals Mrs McHardy and Mrs Stafford; played poker all night.

Wed. 7,—Got up late in the forenoon got ready and Frank, Jack and Myself went up to Oak Valley and stopped all night at the French House.

Thu. 8,—Got on Cherokee Bar by daylight collected off of some French, and then went down the River as far as Wambo's Bar done well collected 93 Licenses; Rained a little poor accomodations cold as blazes

Fri. 9,—Came down to Rock Island<sup>91</sup> done well sold 102 Receipts climbed the Hill without a trail hard work and did not get up till dark, and then got lost but finally got home about 2 hours after dark.<sup>92</sup> Raining some to night.

Sat. 10,—Went up to Oregon Bar hired three men sold out 105 Receipts and came back home, cloudy sour looking weather, expected Receipts up but found none reced a letter from McCubbins returned him the Execution on Smith

Sun. 11, — Stayed home all day out of receipts Raining some and looking very threatening, reced 300 Receipts wrote a letter to Father and one to Jim, made preparations for the road, Frank hired Jo Groves and I hired Jack, filled out receipts.

Mon. 12, — Jack and I went to Celestal [sic] Valley coll[ected] in the rain on the run, eat at Emorys saw a pretty girl went to Hesse's and stopped there all night poor luck sold only 97 Receipts, and a rainy cold day snowed some by way of a variety

Tue. 13, — Frank and Jo came up poor luck sold but 40, they came home, Jack and I came up Oregon Creek, eat Dinner at Bogarduse's, went up Willow Creek, poor luck sold only about 20 Recpt's, came home on a run raining like hell all day and snowing some

Wed. 14, — Bright clear day coll. on Fosters, sold only about 32 Receipt's had a good deal of trouble to do that hunted them in the night; subscribed for the Cal Chronicle<sup>93</sup> to send home to Father, got ready for the road in the morning.

Thu. 15, — Started for Scotts Bar by the ridge got on the wrong trail struck across the Ravines and brush lost Frank chased a train up the ridge coll[ected] of them found two Johns more made them come down the hill with me, like to have scared them out of their senses, Frank scared all off the River poor luck returned home tired Coll[ected] 42 Receipts

Fri. 16, — Stayed home waiting for more receipts none come the weather looked much like rain; Wrote to M W N in answer to an abbreviated line

Sat. 17, — Doing the same today; heavy dark circles around both sun and moon

Sun. 18, — Went to New York Flat to engage music for a Ball at the El Dorado<sup>94</sup> engaged Spauldings band paid them \$75.00; saw military Company entitled N Y Independent Guards<sup>95</sup>

Mon. 19, — Chinese robbed on Winslows Bar came and swore out a States warrant against W T Wright, took Hank Landon and went to Harolds Ranch found him but he proved not to be the man, returned home, think there is a nest of robbers there Chinese paid me \$20—

Tue. 20, — James Pullman here done nothing all day but knock around with him

Wed. 21, — Went to Scotts Bar with H Landon and Jack collecting, thence came down very fair luck, surprised a housefull of gamblers on Oregon Bar made them come out in the night when I arrived home took two pistols from some Chinamen, sold 62 Receipts all together.

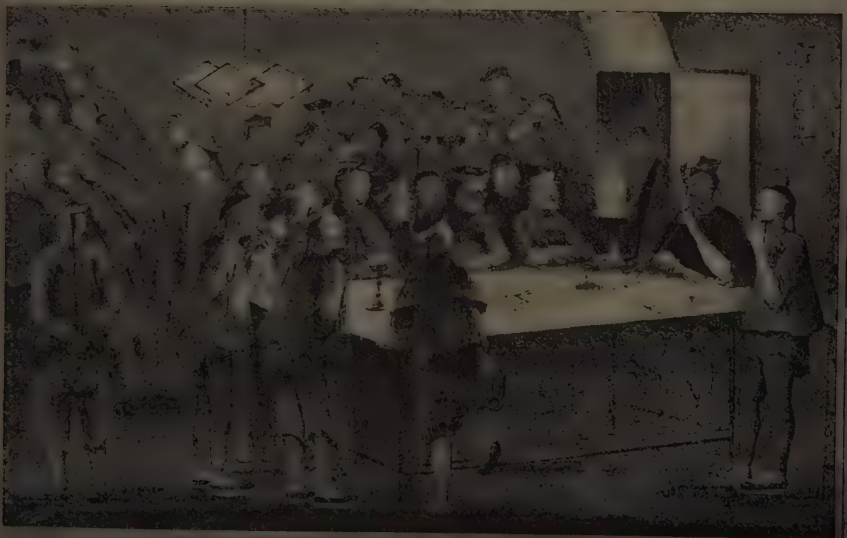
Thu. 22, — Loafed around home not quite all day fine weather nothing doing loaned James Pullman fifty dollars Went up with Jack and Hank to try and catch the Robber found an empty house and a few of their fixins came through a Rancharia

Fri. 23, — Still at home getting ready for the Ball to night, fine day, no news.

Celestial Empire in California.



MINERS



GAMBLERS

Printed & Published by BRITTON & BROS.

Corn. Market St. San Francisco

From a letter sheet of about 1855 in the collection of Templeton Crocker.





Sat. 24, — Had a pretty good time about a dozen ladies &c, some drunk had a little disagreeable [illegible word] and without a partner, nothing doing today, rained a little in the night, Jack came home with a black eye got in a row up to Slate Range

Sun. 25, — Staid home and made blue Sunday of it. havn't got over the dance yet.

Mon. 26, — The same kind of weather yet and I a loafing, folks provecy-ing [sic] a dry cold winter, heavy frosts every morning and bright sunshiny days.

Tue. 27, — Went up on Willow Creek with Jack had a hell of a time sold out a Company of Chinamen to Jack, they followed him and bought the claim back he made fifteen dollars, sold 12 Receipts, came home and coll some off of some Pourtoguse [sic] Italians and Frenchmen met Frank coming from Ho[r]nswoggle Ravine<sup>96</sup>

Wed. 28, — Loafed around home all day doing nothing got ready to go below

Thu. 29, — Went below with Ben P Hugg had a very good time got in about dark, had a Thanksgiving Dinner at Zabriskies, Turkeys and c, put up at the Western.

Fri. 30, — Run around town all day bought a horse saddle and bridle and fixins gave \$64. for it paid over \$4066.00 for the month less my percentage sold my dust to Reynolds & Bro.<sup>97</sup> for \$17.65 per Oz.

# DECEMBER 1855

Sat. 1, — Rode my mare home, first rate animal stopped at a horse race at the Indiana Ranch, got home after dark.

Sun. 2, — Home a doing nothin, made a dividend found I had made \$500.00 on the month. Tom Grieman came down paid him Sixty dollars debt due from the Citizen Saloon;<sup>98</sup> paid Jack \$60. wages for his services.

Mon. 3, — Went to Camptonville to see G H King<sup>99</sup> went with him and Frank to Youngs Hill, saw G Cattermole talked about buying him out, came back (and telegraphed to Felton) [Lined out in original].

Tue. 4, — Went to Youngs again with King struck a trade with Cattermole for costs and freight, estimate \$3000.00. agreed to go below on Monday and ante the cash came home got lost on the road

Wed. 5, — Srvd Rhodes Frank went up to serve the papers and I went to Camptonville to get a dispatch from Felton got it came home raining like fury footed it to Long Bar in the rain and met Frank

Thu. 6, — Left Long Bar went up to Oregon and Pittsburgh Bars, coll some \$300. returned home in the afternoon commenced raining in the afternoon, turned into snow in the afternoon and snowed until dark hard

Fri. 7, — Everything clothed in snow a drizzling rain mixed with snow all day at night storm abated some, Stages stopped and passengers footed it in.

Sat. 8, — Raining pretty sharp and quite cold, Snow a foot and a half on the Slate Range Ridge, continues raining quite hard this evening, went

Sun. 9, — Remained home doing nothing got ready to go below.

Mon. 10, — George did not come and I was somewhat disappointed went to San Juan with George I Mix collected \$60 of Jo Kinville went to school and saw Misses Wilburn and Mrs Tufts

Tue. 11, — Still no arrival, went to Bullards Bar saw Tolls collected \$30 of him out of 65 due, returned home

Wed. 12, — Still on the Bar doing nothing but growing impatient — this evening George arrived, King had paid him one thousand dollars leaving \$125.30/100 due on his third, tried to borrow the amt of Burnett for him but could not

Thu. 13, — Went to Marysville rode my mare to the Oregon House hurt her [illegible word] and left her there, went from there in stage paid \$4.00, got in after dark put up at the Western, in the eve went to theatre and saw the Risley troupe

Fri. 14, — Went to Falls, paid Georg Cattermole \$1125.30/100, for my third, gave fall a note for the balance, and then went to work purchasing, mostly of Fall Eckman & Co,<sup>100</sup> and Reinhart & Bro's,<sup>101</sup> paid about \$200 of my own money for things.

[In a pocket of the larger diary for 1855 is a sheet of writing paper, evidently torn from a larger sheet, reading as follows:]

Marysville Dec 14th A D 1855

Reced of Charles E De Long the sum of  
eleven hundred and twenty five dollars  
and thirty five cents, part pay for a  
Store and Stock of Goods situated on  
Youngs Hill Yuba County,

GEO CATTERMOLÉ

Sat. 15, — Got my things loaded up and sent out of town, for 3 cents per pd. saw Felton borrowed \$200 and paid Fall & Co., reced State and County Taxes of him, went to the theatre and saw the Madam roll a wheel barrow up a rope to the dome of the theatre.<sup>102</sup>

Sun. 16, — Returned home; fell in Company with Misses Taylor of N. Y. escorted her up as far as Fosters serious accident happened on the road. H Landon came to me and told me of a scrape he was in with Miss Flinn, gave him money and he took leg bail for security

Mon. 17, — Remained home, and attended my suit with Rhodes, suit continued until Saturday, McQuaide his attorney.

Tue. 18, — Dr. Fitch came to me with the startling information that Miss Flinn claimed me for father to her child,<sup>103</sup> had an interview with her she stuck to the [illegible word] and I had a devil's own time, with, hell to pay gen-

JOHN C. FALL. JOHN S. ECKMAN. JOHN H. TENNENT.

**FALL, ECKMAN & CO.,**

WHOLESALE DEALERS IN

**GROCERIES, PROVISIONS,**

Wines, Liquors, Cigars, Tobacco,

FLOUR, GRAIN,

—AND—

**Miners' Supplies**

*Corner of Commercial and First Streets,*

**MARYSVILLE**

Having arrangements whereby we are in constant receipt of fresh supplies to the large Stock constantly on hand, we are enabled to offer inducements to purchasers unsurpassed by any other house in Marysville.

Merchants in the Interior may rely upon their orders being filled with promptness and dispatch, both as regards quality and description.

G. A. REYNOLDS.

C. H. REYNOLDS.

R. J. REYNOLDS.

**REYNOLDS BROS.,**

**BANKERS,**

SOUTH EAST CORNER OF

**FIRST AND PLAZA,**

**MARYSVILLE.**

**DEPOSITS RECEIVED,**

—AND—

Banking Business generally attended to.

HIGHEST PRICE PAID FOR

**GOLD DUST**

Collections attended to, and proceeds promptly remitted.

**SIGHT CHECKS**

—ON—

**San Francisco at Par.**

**REINHART & BRO.,**

WHOLESALE AND RETAIL DEALERS IN

**STAPLE AND FANCY**

**D B Y G O O S I**

**CLOTHING, BOOTS, SHOES, &c.**

**BRICK BUILDING, SOUTH SIDE OF FIRST STREET,**

*Between Maiden Lane and D Streets,*

**MARYSVILLE.**

From Colville's Marysville Directory for 1855. (Considerably reduced.)

erally, forty four duels in prospective if not mor[e] suit comd entitled G McHardy vs Scott Burs

Wed. 19, — A Damed blue day, expecting to catch thunder every minute, but things brighten a little, reced a letter of acceptance from Miss M W N, a grand investigation going on in secret God knows what the result may be.

Thu. 20, — Reported all right by Dr and they look so, saddled my horse and came up to Youngs Hill to live got here just at dark, found King all right and doing a fair business, raining like thunder all night.

Fri. 21, — Still raining some, my goods not come, saddled up my horse and started for Fosters, by the way of Camptonville; — retained Bertrand Jones to defend my suit then went on down in the storm, arrived safe but wet through

Sat. 22, — Morning broke stormy, the folks all came down, and suit was called and a change of venue granted Rhodes to McCubbins court, borrowed \$20 of Frank and paid Jones on act.

Sun. 23, — Loafed around home doing nothing, but getting ready for collecting.

Mon. 24, — Went to the Mountain Cottage<sup>104</sup> to see Reid & Co, could not find out much, got a due bill from them for their taxes, came to Greenville, coll of Matlock and Johnson, looked up their Licenses and found them all lacking, came home and had some wine with [illegible word]

Tue. 25, — Nothing much doing on the Bar, a dinner at Franks but did not attend, coll some on the Bar, paid bill \$18.00 at E[l] D[orado] Hotel; coll expenses, paid George \$20.00 on act of my bill had a little card playing

Wed. 26, — Came up to Camptonville, coll \$24.50 of J. H. Atchison on Lockwood's order. great excitement in Camptonville Pete Summers shot, by a Jew;<sup>105</sup> I comd collecting some, had a fit at the desk while writing a receipt so[o]n came to and a man set up with me; Snowing all day.

Thu. 27, — Got up feeling sore, my tounge bit &c Storming furiously and blowing a gale cleared up in the afternoon felt rather dizzy toward evening, took some medicine.

Fri. 28, — Had a good night's rest but feel a little strange as yet weather clear and as cold as winter at home

Sat. 29, — Cold and clear as a Bell went over to Youngs Hill saw George, doing very well, but all on time, felt well till about 11 Oclock at night, then had a most horrible night, sweat blood, thought I would go crazy but stuck it through,

Sun. 30, — Went to Camptonville afoot about half crazy, paid my bill \$17.50 at Camptonville, loaned Frank \$30.00 or \$40, came down to Fosters to lay off expecting a time of it.

Mon. 31, — Cold and clear as possible, a first rate chance for every one to be broke if this weather holds;<sup>106</sup> John Flattery came down and swore out warrant vs D V Dingman, had a great rounce game<sup>107</sup> a little noise but no fun only trying to drive the horrors out of my brain.



[Included at the end of the Diary for 1855 are the following entries:]

JAN 1st 1856

Tuesday, Went to Oregon Hill to arrest Dingman, did not find him, had the horrors till everything looked blue, came home sent up for Frank and played rounce during the evening to drive away blue devils. Rhodes came down gave bonds and dismissed suit for refferee

Jan 2nd Frank came down went up after Dingman but had no better luck than I, — Towles paid me ball[ance] \$35.00. Lawyers came down no suit went back. I paid bill \$5.00 for them. Wrote to M W N and Jim sent letter sheets<sup>108</sup> had another turn of the horrors

Arose feeling bad, frost as heavy as a snow sky clear Appraised Cramer & Co's store as ordered by Court

### NOTES TO THE JOURNAL OF CHARLES E. DE LONG FOR 1855

1. H. C. Hall is listed in the Marysville Directory for 1855 as an attorney-at-law, with offices on D Street between Second and Third. He hailed from New Jersey.

2. Langton's Express. "The cause which led to the speedy establishment of express companies and firms, was the necessity of some means for the safe transportation of the products of the mines to more central points. One of the first lines was Langton's Pioneer Express, which was started in the spring of 1850, between Marysville and Downieville. Subsequently the line was extended to San Francisco." (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 112.) Before the road was completed Langton's Express was operated by stage from Marysville to Dobbins Ranch, and thence by muleback to Downieville. In his volume, *Hunting for Gold*, San Francisco, 1893 (p. 93), Major William Downie has the following to say about Langton:

"Sam Langton and his family . . . came from Washington City and met with a fate in California which was absolutely tragic. They were rich and influential at one time, but the heavy failure of the Adams Express Company practically ruined them financially, and the family is now almost extinct. Sam Langton was killed in Virginia City by a fall from his carriage; a younger brother died in poverty in San Francisco some years ago; and another brother — Tom Langton — was sent to the insane asylum at Stockton, but has since so far recovered as to hold, at present, an official position at that institution. One of the sisters pined to death grieving for the loss of her husband, a noted Mountain express rider, who lost his life in the execution of his duty; and the widow and daughter of Sam Langton, perished a few years ago in an avalanche at the Sierra Buttes."

Samuel W. Langton was one of the charter subscribers to "The California and Utah Camel Association," formed on May 13, 1859, to employ camels on the Pacific Coast for transportation purposes. (Files of Secretary of State of California, Sacramento, according to information furnished by A. A. Gray, Berkeley.)

3. Oak Valley was a small mining town situated on the headwaters of the creek of the same name, some two miles from the North Yuba and six miles northeast of Camptonville. In the early days there was much oak timber in this locality. In 1855 there were one hundred men here, mostly miners. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 100.)

4. The Foreign Miners' Tax. To the "Forty-niners" the sight of "foreigners" washing the gold from California's placers was a thing abhorrent, and from the first there was much friction. This resulted in the so-called "Chile war," and in a number of attempts to drive out Chileans, Sonorans and others from the mountain diggings. Even the native Californians were often threatened, though their rights as American citizens had been guaranteed by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo. When the first Legislature met in San José late in 1849 the subject of foreign miners was given considerable attention, and a very drastic act was passed providing that no person not a native or natural born citizen of the United States, or one under the peace treaty (native California Indians excepted) might mine in any part of the State without a license obtained from a State Collector of Licenses, for which the sum of *twenty dollars per month* should be charged — this to continue "until the Governor shall issue his proclamation announcing the passage of law by Congress regulating the mines of precious metals in this State." (Statutes 1850, Chap. 97, p. 221, passed April 13, 1850.)

A posse "of American citizens" might, under this act, forcibly prevent mining by an unlicensed foreigner, and for such an individual to seek a new location and continue unlicensed mining operations was to be a misdemeanor, punishable by imprisonment not exceeding three months and a fine of not more than \$1,000. A complete register of names and descriptions of all foreigners taking out licenses was to be kept by each local collector.

In December of the same year the State Supreme Court, speaking through Justice Bennett, upheld the right of the State to require such licenses, and declared that the provisions of the new State Constitution to the effect that all taxation should be equal and uniform throughout the State did not apply, since this was a license and not a direct tax on property. (*People ex rel. Attorney General vs. Naglee*, 1 Cal. 232.)

The Legislature, at its next session, repealed this Act (Stats. 1851, Chap. 108, p. 424, passed March 14, 1851), but in 1852 a new statute was adopted under the following ironic title: "An Act to provide for the protection of foreigners and to define their liabilities and privileges." By this Act it was provided that no person not a citizen of the United States (California Indians excepted) should be allowed to take gold from the mines of the State unless he should have a license procured from the local sheriff, or one of his deputies, certifying that he had paid the sheriff the sum of \$3.00 "which entitles him to work in the mines of this State for one month from date." It was specifically provided that "no foreign miner, who shall not have a license under the provisions of this Act, shall be allowed either to prosecute or defend any action in any of the courts in this State." Any person or company hiring foreigners to work in the mines was made liable for the amount of license for each person so employed, and it was stated that the license should be printed in English, Spanish and French. (Stats. 1852, Chap. 37, p. 84.) It should be added that the title of this statute recited that it was passed for the following reasons: "Whereas, great prejudices exist in the mining districts in relation to the propriety of foreigners being permitted to work placer and quartz diggings, inasmuch as they are not liable to the same duties as American citizens, whilst they enjoy the same privileges; and whereas these contests produce great expenditure by the State in the maintenance of order, and whereas, in consideration of the protection and privileges extended, and secured to them by the Constitution and laws of our country," such an Act should be enacted.

The Legislature of 1853 raised the amount to be paid for licenses from \$3.00 to \$4.00 and in this new statute it was provided that the collector might seize the property of any person liable to and refusing to pay this tax, and might sell it at public auction "on one hour's notice by proclamation," and transfer the title of the property of the person in question to cover the tax, returning the surplus, "if any," to the person whose property was sold. The collector might even pursue persons attempting to escape the payment of this tax into other counties and "enforce the payment of such tax in the same manner as if no such escape had been made." All foreigners residing in the mining districts were to be "considered miners under the provisions of this Act," unless directly engaged in some "other lawful business avocation." The alteration of a license was made a misdemeanor and any person or company hiring foreigners to work the mines was to be liable for the amount of the license for each such employed person. Deputy collectors to be appointed by the several sheriffs were to be paid not less than 15% on all sums collected by them. And if this sum should prove insufficient, the County Judge or Board of Supervisors might provide an additional sum for the deputy collector not to exceed in all 25%. It was declared that the sheriffs "be required to receive good clean gold dust when tendered at \$17.00 per ounce in payment for licenses," and the Act of 1852 on this subject was repealed.

In 1854 the statute of the preceding year was amended to make it apply to all persons not citizens of the United States or who should not have declared intention to become such prior to the passage of this new Act (California Indians excepted), and no foreigner was to be allowed to take gold from the mines of the State unless he should have a license as provided in the 1853 enactment. (Stats. 1854, Chap. 101, p. 166, passed May 13, 1854.)

The Legislature of 1855 determined to take drastic action in reference to the Chinese miners. It amended the Act of 1853 to provide that the amount to be paid by each foreigner eligible to become a citizen of the United States for his monthly license should be \$4.00, but that the amount to be paid for each license by any foreigner ineligible to become a citizen of the United States should be at the rate of \$4.00 per month until October 1, 1855, \$6.00 per month thereafter and until October 1, 1856, \$8.00 per month thereafter and until October 1, 1857, and so on "increasing the license \$2.00 per month from and after the first day of October of each year." It was evident that, for his own good, such a foreign miner should work industriously and make his fortune before the tax became too heavy. (Stats. 1855, Chap. 174, p. 216.)

The Legislature at its next session, however, repealed this Act which had amended the Act of 1853, and again provided that the rate of monthly license should be \$4.00 per month from all foreign miners. (Stats. 1856, Chap. 119, p. 141.)

In 1857 an Act was passed amending the 1853 Act and providing in detail a form of license and certain methods of collection. (Stats. 1857, Chap. 158, p. 182.) The same Legislature also amended the 1853 statute to make it a misdemeanor to sell any "license" without dating and signing the same in ink, or to alter any such license. (Stats. 1857, Chap. 272, p. 360.)

In 1858 the Legislature strengthened the statute by providing that "any person, or com-

pany, hiring foreigners, or interested with them as partners, or renting, or on shares, or in any manner connected with any foreigner, or foreigners, in working or in possession of any mining ground in this State, shall be liable for the amount of license of each and every foreigner with whom such person, or company, is so connected or interested." All the property of any such person was to be subject to sale for the payment of the license tax and the collector was given power to hold any person believed to be indebted to or to hold money of any such person in his possession or under his control to answer under oath as to such indebtedness or possession. The collector might collect from such person the amount of such license if the indebtedness or possession were proved, and his receipt was to be a bar to any demand against such party for the property in question or for the amount so paid. (Stats. 1858, Chap. 316, p. 302.)

In 1859, in a case involving the power of the Legislature to take from the sheriff the duty of collecting these taxes and vest it in the hands of a special Foreign Miners License Collector, the California Supreme Court declared as to this tax that: "though the license may be considered, in some sense, as a tax, yet probably it is not so in that sense which was involved in the supposed necessary duties of the Tax Collector — as a tax on land or personal property. It is a special contribution laid on a certain class of foreigners for the support of government, and created by special Act of the Legislature." (*Attorney General vs. Squires*, 14 Cal. 12, 18 [1859].)

This tax was continued for some time, and in 1866 the Legislature passed an Act entitled "An Act supplementary to the various Acts now in force respecting foreign miners' licenses," providing for the signature of the State Controller and of the County Treasurer and Auditor on all such licenses. (Stats. 1865-66, p. 380.)

The Reports of the Committees on Mines and Mining Interests of the State Legislature during the 'fifties and 'sixties contain much information of value on the subject of foreign miners and the taxes imposed upon them. (See Appendices to the Reports of Legislative sessions during that period.)

5. Wood's Bridge. This was probably the bridge later called "Cherokee Bridge," across the North Yuba three miles north of Slate Range on the road from Camptonville to Strawberry Valley and La Porte.

6. Negro Slide was on the North Yuba just below the little mining settlement of Dad's (sometimes called "Dadd's) Gulch. (Meek.) (See Note 53, 1854.)

7. Slate Range was a small mining community some three miles northwest of Oak Valley. Scattered about this area were many mines. Slate Range Bar, on the river below, is often called merely "Slate Range" in the journal.

8. Oregon Bar was on the westerly side of the North Yuba, some four miles north of Foster's Bar. The Bliss brothers were storekeepers there in the early days. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 94.)

9. French Bar was probably a small bar between Oregon and Pittsburgh bars. There was also a Frenchman's Bar down the river several miles, between Rice's Crossing and Condemned Bar. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 94.)

10. Pittsburgh Bar was just above Oregon Bar and was successfully worked during the early placer days by about forty men. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 94.)

11. Missouri Bar was so called from the men from Pike County by whom it was first settled.

12. Sucker, Willow, Alabama, Mississippi, and Wambo's (or Wambaugh's) bars were all on the North Yuba north of Foster's Bar. Every tiny bar had its quota of miners in the days of which De Long is writing.

13. Atchison's Bar was also on the North Yuba above Foster's Bar.

14. "A drove" — i.e., of Chinamen.

15. Bennett's Ranch was on the flat just below White Maple Springs. (Labadie.)

16. Cole and Stevens had a store at Brandy City, and operated a pack train to that point in the early mining days. (Meek.)

17. This crossing was on the Middle Yuba above Hess's Crossing and four miles above Freeman's Crossing, on the road from Marysville to Forest City.

18. This probably signifies the mouth of the Middle Yuba.

19. English Bar received its name from some English miners who worked on it with poor success in 1851. They gave their claim to one Wilkins who, having formed a company to work it, took out \$90,000 during the next summer.

Kanaka Bar was first settled by Hawaiians, but was soon worked out.

Winslow Bar was named after Captain Winslow of the Sandwich Islands. He brought the first shipload of Chinamen across the Pacific after the gold discovery and worked them at this point, which was quite a large place during the early 'fifties. John B. Trask, General James Allen (later mayor of Marysville and editor of the *Marysville Herald*), and General Rowe (later De Long's law partner in Marysville) mined at Winslow's Bar. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 94.)

20. Condemned Bar was located at the point where Dobbins' Creek joins the North

Yuba. There were nearly a hundred miners here during the palmy days of placer mining on the river. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 94.)

21. Mix Smith was County Assessor during 1854 and 1855.

22. Peter McKeon afterward lived in "Frog Hollow" at Oak Valley, where he engaged in mining and raising a family of thirteen children. (Meek.)

23. J. B. Whitcomb. (See Note 48, 1854.)

24. Stanfield's was on the road from Camptonville to Marysville via Dobbins' Ranch, some three miles below the crossing of Dry Creek. It is now called "Stanfield's Hill." The man from whom the little hotel obtained its name settled at this point in 1852. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 89; Ramm.)

25. This stream formed the boundary between Yuba and Butte counties for a considerable distance.

26. This hostelry was located about one mile north of the town of Bangor in Butte County on the Marysville and La Porte stage road. The last vestige of the old hotel disappeared some forty years ago. (A. P. Bainbridge, Rackerby, California.)

27. This town was on the branch of Honcut Creek of the same name. One "Major" Brown worked this point in 1850, aided by local Indians who later declared that he took out "heap much gold." At first he claimed as much of "Brown's Creek" as could be reached by a bullet from his rifle from his camp, up and down the creek, but rival miners soon crowded in around him, and in 1851 the town sprang up, and soon there was a large graveyard, twenty-five of whose inhabitants did not die a natural death. By 1860 the "diggings" had played out and the place was deserted. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 90.)

28. Brownsville was located on the "Central Turnpike" thirty-three miles from Marysville. Here I. E. Brown built a sawmill in 1851. This was later the site of the "Knoxdale Institute," founded in 1878 by Professor E. K. Hill, as a school for girls. At that period it was a "Temperance" town, an unusual phenomenon in the California of that period. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 91.)

29. Sharon Valley was the site of the Sharon Valley Mills, completed in 1853, and operated for many years. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 90.) L. T. Crane, later County Treasurer, and a "great old character," was the founder and for many years the proprietor of these mills. (Meek.)

30. New York Ranch was located on the flat of the same name in a meadow near Sharon Valley, and in 1855-56 it boasted a popular race track. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 90.)

31. See entries for December 18, *et seq.*

32. Milk Ranch. (See Note 85, 1854.) "Miss H." was probably Miss Hammon of January 1 and 2, 1855.

33. Willow Creek empties into the North Yuba just above Bullard's Bar. Ramm's Ranch and the mines at Galena Hill, Young's Hill, Weed's Point and the other neighboring diggings were on its headwaters.

34. A J. M. Crowell is listed in Davis, *Political Conventions*, p. 618, as Assemblyman from Yuba County in 1860. Dr. Eugene Crowell was a prominent physician in San Francisco, and Supervisor in 1860.

35. The Oregon Creek here in question empties into the Middle Yuba just above Freeman's Crossing. Another creek of the same name empties into the North Yuba just below Bullard's Bar. The old town of Oregon Hill (later known as Greenville) was just north of this latter creek some four miles from its mouth.

36. The Merchants' Hotel was located on the Plaza, corner of First Street, Marysville. It was built in 1852 and was the first brick hotel in the city. (T. & W., *Yuba City*, p. 138.)

37. Charles N. Felton was elected county tax collector for the years 1856 and 1857. D. O. Adkinson contested the election but appears to have lost the contest. Felton came to California from New York, and after some years in Yuba County removed to San Mateo County, which he represented in the Assembly in 1880 and 1881. From 1885-91 he was a member of Congress, and in 1888 he was made Commissioner to attend the celebration of the centennial of George Washington's inauguration. In 1891 he was elected United States Senator. (See Davis, *Political Conventions*, p. 623.)

38. Hatfield evidently kept a store at Sweetland's Crossing of the Middle Yuba. (See entry for September 19.)

39. Hiram Works lived for many years at the Milk Ranch on the Bullard's Bar road between Kessler's and the bridge. "He looked like the pictures of Daniel Boone." (Meek.)

40. In *The March of Empire through Three Decades*, San Francisco, 1884, pp. 72-75, Mrs. Mallie Stafford says of the Chinese miners:

"As we approached that part of the road which lay along the banks of the Yuba, mining camps became more numerous, some very attractive and pretty villages enlivening the scene. Here the innovations of the Chinamen were observed. Already in the early history of Cali-



fornia they were beginning to crowd white men to the wall. At first they worked mines that white men had deserted, but gradually in their own unobtrusive way, possessed themselves of some of the most valuable surface or placer mines. But they worked their mines on a far different principle from that of others. Others paid their laborers high wages, boarding them on the best the country afforded. The Chinaman brought bands of ignorant Coolies from China, who were in reality mere slaves, subject to his commands and entirely obedient to his authority; he fed them on the cheapest diet, rice and other cheap articles of food, shipped from his own country; the clothing, too, was brought ready-made from China; they slept in tents or cabins deserted by other miners, on bunks made of boards and sacks for bedding, and a sort of stool or box for a pillow. In this way the Chinaman spent none of his golden gains in the country, but steadily and persistently robbed the country of its golden treasure. He sucked the life-blood from her veins, laid open her rich arteries of treasure, and in unremitting toil gathered it up and shipped it to his own land. Though California was a free State, and Americans on their own soil were not permitted to bring and keep slaves to toil in the mines or any other vocation, yet the Chinaman was tolerated in carrying on a system of slavery, more obnoxious and more ruinous to American interests than was ever African slavery in the Southern States. Strange inconsistency of our Government! As time wore on, the more thoughtful awoke to a realization of the true state of affairs. Everywhere bands of these yellow-skinned foreigners were working like swarms of ants, crowding out white men from the best placer mines — wherever they could get a foothold, there they were. Shipload after shipload was landed in San Francisco — and dispersing, wound their sinuous persistent way to the mines. The voice of indignation rose in strong protest against them. Legislation was appealed to, taxes were imposed on all foreigners, and exacted of Chinaman. A second time taxes were levied on foreigners, Chinamen alone being affected by it. They were required to pay four dollars per month for working in the mines, but they knew no such thing as discouragement. Whenever possible, they evaded the tax collector. When he made his appearance at a village, a runner was sent to the next, and thence to the next, and soon, as if by magic, swarms of Chinamen laden with provisions, bundles, etc., were seen ambling from the villages seeking a hiding place in the foot-hills; there they remained a few days till they supposed the tax collector had passed, and gathering again in the mines, were soon established at work. Not infrequently impositions were practiced upon them by the miners, who viewed them with dislike and suspicion. During the dry season, the 'honest miner,' ever ready for an opportunity to earn a 'few scads,' would occasionally arm himself with a large ledger, and donning a coat and assuming a solemn and official air, repair to a Chinese camp to 'collect taxes.' On such unlooked-for calls, the Celestials were generally taken unawares, and generally obedient, and cowardly delivered up 'the ready.' If, however, they were disposed to dispute or evade the point, the muzzle of a revolver compelled compliance. Such raids were regarded by many of the miners as a good 'joke,' and were related with much satisfaction. Even at this period they were regarded with great detestation, and the universal sentiment was against them."

41. Moonshine Creek runs southeast, emptying into the Middle Yuba at a point about one and one-half miles west of Freeman's Crossing. There was a sawmill owned by Dick Twomley and called Moonshine on the ridge between Moonshine Creek and Bullard's Bar. (Ramm.)

42. Barker's Ranch was in North East Township. The site of the "Barker House" on the Butte County line was settled by one Charles Barker in 1850. Later, in 1858, one James Wood bought the place and erected a large brick hotel known as the Woodville House. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 96.)

43. Hampshire Mill was located at the mouth of Hampshire Creek. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 97.)

44. George I. Mix lived for many years at Bullard's Bar, where he constructed three toll bridges, which were successively carried away by high water. They were operated in conjunction with the toll road which Mix also owned. Many years ago he sold his bridge and road to John Ramm, of "Ramm's Ranch," and removed to Brown's Valley. Ramm operated them until they were sold to the county sometime prior to 1900. Mix's son, George A. Mix, lives today in Marysville.

45. The Western Hotel, R. J. Murray, proprietor, was located at the corner of Second and D streets, Marysville. First built of wood in 1852, it was destroyed by the fire of May, 1854, but was immediately rebuilt of brick the same year. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 138; Marysville Directory, 1855, p. 73.) It is still used as a hotel.

46. This was the County Convention of a new political faction. The strange "Know Nothing" party rose and fell during the middle 'fifties. It had its origin in the debacle of the old Whigs, and was founded on a platform emphasizing anti-foreign and anti-Catholic principles. Its members took the nickname of "Know Nothings" because they were required, when asked of the party or its principles, to declare they knew nothing about it. In California the new faction first appeared in 1854, and it enjoyed a meteoric rise to power in San

Francisco and the mining communities. On March 5, 1855, the Know Nothings carried the Marysville municipal election, though its list of candidates was made public only on the morning of the election. The next month witnessed complete success of this party at Sacramento, and the leaders of the Democratic party (hitherto the bitterest of enemies) were forced to join common cause against the newcomer. They nominated John Bigler for Governor and a strong State committee representing both factions was selected.

The Know Nothings met on August 7 at Sacramento and nominated J. Neely Johnson for Governor on a platform calling for native American candidates, separation of Church and State, and favoritism for squatters or "settlers."

For an extended account of the rise and fall of Know Nothings see Beveridge, Albert C., *Abraham Lincoln*, 1928. See also the monograph on the subject of "The Know Nothing Party in California," by Peyton Hurt, soon to be published by the California Historical Society.

47. Keystone Ranch, just below Indiana Ranch. Here the miners had a racetrack, and a large hotel, the "Keystone House," stood there for many years.

48. Dry Creek takes its rise in and about the New York Ranch and Sharon and Challenge Mills section, running south and west past the site of the old-time Jefferson and Abbott "Houses," and finally emptying into the Yuba at the point formerly known as Ousley's Bar, south of Brown's Valley. Dry Creek is well-named, as its course lies almost entirely through the hot, dry, lower foothill country and its bed is seldom very wet.

49. The Jefferson House was built for a hotel and bar in 1852 by one James Evans on the Branch Turnpike at its crossing of Dry Creek. It ran until 1863. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 92.)

50. Just below the Stanfield House on the road to Marysville.

51. Camptonville has had two Odd Fellows lodges, "Gold Ridge Lodge No. 42," which became extinct by surrender of charter at an early period, and "Camptonville Lodge No. 307," now extinct by merger with Downieville Lodge No. 24. The earlier lodge was instituted on June 25, 1855, by Right Worthy Grand Representative A. J. Lucas of Yuba Lodge No. 5 (Marysville) under dispensation of Grand Master E. W. Colt. The officers in 1856 were T. B. Rehler, Noble Grand; M. K. Napier, Vice Grand; Walter E. Jones, Secretary, and Joseph P. Muckles, Treasurer. (Report of Grand Master, 1856.) In 1858 the full membership of Gold Ridge No. 42 was listed as follows: *Past Grand*s, J. P. Brown, U. Gates, T. L. Jones, George J. Mix, J. H. Variel, T. H. O. Walton; *Fifth Degree*, W. T. Burgess, P. Butz, William H. Foye, G. V. Fairbanks, E. Hughes, D. B. Harmon, A. G. Miller, M. K. Napier, William Quayle, L. Stevens; *Second Degree*, S. Alexander, George Bollinger, F. C. Nichols, L. Schadt; *Initiates*, William Mehner, N. G. Young. (*Proceedings of the R. W. Grand Lodge of the State of California, Independent Order of Odd Fellows*, Vol. I, San Francisco, 1859.)

52. The New York Ranch or Flat was taken up by the same persons who had built the "New York House." It was a small meadow near Sharon Valley where mining had commenced in 1850. In 1855-56 a great deal of money changed hands at the New York Flat racetrack. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 90.)

53. "Tom" Steel was later County School Superintendent.

54. Forbestown, in Butte County, was settled in 1850 by B. F. Forbes, and soon became second only to Bidwell's Bar as an important mining center in that county. It claimed 1000 "tributary population." (Bancroft, *History of California*, Vol. VI, p. 491; *Butte County History*, pp. 261-63.)

55. Joseph Kinville was a charter member of Manzanita Lodge No. 102, F. & A. M., at North San Juan in 1856. Among its original officers in 1857 he is listed as holding the place of Steward. (Edwin A. Sherman, *Fifty Years of Masonry*, San Francisco, 1898, p. 263.)

56. The *California Express*, a "full-fledged Democratic paper," was first issued on November 3, 1851, by George Giles & Co. It was a tri-weekly "steamer paper," edited by Col. Richard Rust, who retained his post through several changes of ownership. At the time in question here, Luther Laird, George W. Bloor and M. D. Carr were the proprietors, operating under the name of L. Laird & Co. Although suffering from many changes in ownership, it is said that this journal "was, from the first, a warm exponent of pure, unadulterated States Rights Democracy," a point of view which earned it few friends during the Civil War. It succumbed in 1866, but during the period here in question was one of the most influential papers in the northern part of the State, publishing special weekly issues and "steamer" numbers on occasion. (See T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 74.) It is of interest that in 1856 this paper opposed the actions of the Vigilance Committee in San Francisco. In 1858 the Sacramento *Union*, in its account of California newspapers, stated that the *Express* "started neutral in politics" but soon came out for the Democracy. (December 25, 1858. Reprinted in book form, New York, 1927, as *A History of California Newspapers*.) It was well nigh impossible for a newspaper to maintain a neutral political stand in the California of the 'fifties.

57. This was the bar known commonly as "Long Bar No. 2" to distinguish it from the

larger and better known "Long Bar" near Park's Bar below where the Yuba River debouches onto the Sacramento plains. It was located some two miles above Foster's Bar.

58. Scott's Bar was a small mining camp at the mouth of Scott's Bar Creek on the North Yuba below Rock Island Bar. It was soon worked out.

59. Cherokee Bar was on the North Yuba near Cut Eye Foster's Bar, on the trail from Camptonville to Brandy City. The State Highway from Camptonville to Downieville now crosses the river near this point.

60. Wood's Ranch was on the old "49er" road at the Oregon House, about three miles below Dobbins' Ranch.

61. The ablest political speakers were sent into the mining communities, for the Sierra foothills boasted by far the most important "vote" in the State during the 'fifties. Of the persons here named, John B. Weller was United States Senator, 1851-56, and Governor, 1858-59. He had been in Congress from Ohio prior to coming to California, and was Boundary Commissioner under Polk. In 1858 Buchanan appointed him Minister to Mexico, but he was recalled by Lincoln, and died in New Orleans in 1875. Charles H. Bryan was State Senator from Yuba County in 1854 and became Justice of the State Supreme Court in 1855, removing to Virginia City, Nevada, in 1860. W. C. Burnett was the Democratic candidate for State Senator, and was elected to that office from Yuba County in 1856-57. In 1858 he removed to San Francisco, later becoming City and County Attorney there. Henry P. Haun was County Judge, 1850-53, figuring largely in the celebrated Field-Turner controversy. He became United States Senator for the unexpired term of Senator Broderick, but died in Marysville in 1861. Isaac S. Belcher was candidate for District Attorney of the County, and was elected for the years 1856-57. Later he was Marysville City Attorney (1859), District Judge (1864-69) and Justice of the Supreme Court (1870). F. M. Davenport was the candidate for County Assessor, and was elected for the years 1856-57. (Most of the above is from T. & W., *Yuba County*.) I. S. Belcher was the father of Richard B. Belcher, now a well-known attorney in Marysville.

62. Matt Woods later became De Long's brother-in-law through his marriage to Nellie Vineyard. He was sheriff of Yuba County in 1858-59, 1870-73, and 1876-78. With his father-in-law, Colonel Vineyard, he built the first iron bridge over the Yuba River at the important crossing of Park's Bar. He came to California from Pennsylvania.

63. Ferry Bar was opposite and about midway between Foster's and Bullard's bars. To this point came John Sampson and J. M. Ramirez in the fall of 1849 with a company of Chileans. In November a mob of exasperated Yankees from Foster's Bar drove the "foreigners" out, but they were soon back, "protected by men who could both speak and shoot in the English language." James Flood, later the Bonanza king, did his first mining at this bar. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 99.)

64. Celestial Valley was on Oregon Creek about four miles by trail south of and a thousand feet below Camptonville. It took its name from the many Chinese miners who worked there in the very early days. (Meek.)

65. John Bigler came to California from Pennsylvania in 1849, was Speaker of the State Assembly in 1850 and 1851, was elected Governor in 1851 and 1853, and was defeated for that office in 1855 at the election on which De Long placed his wager. Bigler became Minister to Chile in 1857, and held that position until 1861. In 1863 he established the *State Capitol Recorder* in Sacramento, where he died in 1871. (Davis, *Political Conventions in California*, p. 597.)

66. Dr. I. N. Groves lived at Camptonville for many years and for a while was Justice of the Peace. He practiced medicine, was a fair drinker, and "like most mountain doctors, whenever he wanted to do a good job he used to get pretty well filled up." (Meek.)

67. Eagle Canyon was one of the smaller "diggings" and was soon worked out. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 95.)

68. Nevada City was for a long time spoken of ordinarily simply as "Nevada," until the use of that name by the communities formerly called "Washoe" made the addition of the term "City" desirable. However, De Long's use here of the full title shows that the appellation was in use as early as 1855. The site was first settled by Captain John Pennington and two others in September, 1849. Others soon followed, and in October a log store was erected by a Dr. A. B. Caldwell. The canyon of Deer Creek at this point was very rich, and by the spring of 1850 every side gulch had its quota of miners. The settlement was first called "Caldwell's Upper Store" or "Deer Creek Dry Diggings," but upon the election of a Mr. Stamps as Alcalde early in 1850 the name of "Nevada" was chosen. "Coyoteville," on the hills above the town, received its name from the "Coyote-hole" diggings of the miners who sought the rich ancient riverbed gravels underlying the present surface in that region.

In March, 1851, the town of Nevada was destroyed by fire, but was at once rebuilt, and soon a number of permanent, stone buildings appeared. Many of these remain to this day. Nevada City was early made the county seat of Nevada County, and during the hydraulic and quartz mining days the town was an important one. Lately, however, its importance has shrunk, but it still remains one of the most picturesque of the old mining towns.

For an extended account of Nevada City in the earliest days of the gold period see Edwin F. Bean's *History and Directory of Nevada County*, Nevada City, 1867.

69. The Oak Tree Ranch was on Shady Creek, south of North San Juan. (Meek.)

70. R. W. Peckersgill is listed in the Marysville Directory for 1855 as Deputy Sheriff, hailing from England.

71. A. C. Zabriskie, physician, from New Jersey, is listed in the Marysville Directory for 1855, with office on the west side of D Street, between First and Second streets.

On the 1861 Map of Yuba County a spot some five miles northwest of Marysville just north of the Yuba River is denoted "Zabriskie's." Unquestionably this is the spot here referred to by De Long. Indeed, in Amy's Marysville Directory for 1858, p. 92, in the list of hotels on the Foster's Bar Road, A. L. Zabriskie is listed as proprietor of "Zabriskie's Hotel."

72. Strawberry Valley is on the "La Porte Ridge" in the northeastern corner of Yuba County. It was named in 1850 by Captain William Mock because of the many wild strawberry plants which he found there. The place soon became a thriving mining town, rich diggings being found on Deadwood Creek and in Kentucky Gulch, Rich Gulch, Whiskey Gulch, and other neighboring ravines. The "Columbus House," built by former Ohioans, was the leading hotel of this section. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, pp. 96-97.)

73. Bishop Sheldon was a semi-itinerant preacher "and quite a politician." (Meek.)

74. The election of 1855 resulted in the election of the Know Nothing candidate, J. Neely Johnson, by 50,948 votes as against 45,939 cast for Bigler, the Democratic candidate.

75. Morris G. Stafford, who kept the El Dorado House at Foster's Bar, died on August 12, 1854. The widow continued to live at the Bar, and her daughter, Mrs. Nellie Eastman of Marysville, relates a family tradition that De Long desired at one time to marry her. Be that as it may, on February 6, 1856, she married George I. Mix, and De Long's statement here that she tended him "with motherly care and affection" seems to belie the tale of her being one of his early sweethearts.

76. This appears to have been the first appearance of De Long in court. As deputy sheriff he was used as bailiff by the mountain justices of the peace.

77. "Old New York Bridge" crossed the North Yuba just above its confluence with the Middle Yuba.

78. Spring Valley School District was in the northwestern part of the county near the Peoria House. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 107.) The Spring Valley on or near the Middle Yuba, here mentioned, has not been identified.

79. "The opposition" stage was run by Jim McCue. (Meek.) He later wrote a book commonly called "The Opposition Stage Man," but Cowan gives the cover title of this as "Twenty-one years in California. Incidents in the life of a stage-driver. What he has seen; what he knows about gambling, horse-racing, law-makers, and bad whiskey" . . . San Francisco [ca. 1878].

80. J. Neely Johnson, the Know Nothing candidate, had carried Yuba County with a vote of 2728 over Bigler's 2283. Among the local officials elected by the new party were I. S. Belcher, District Attorney; Lloyd Magruder, County Clerk; D. C. Benham, Recorder; A. F. Williams, Treasurer; C. N. Felton, Collector; F. M. Davenport, Assessor; William B. Thornburgh, Sheriff; J. M. Abbott, Superintendent of Schools; J. Johnston, County Surveyor; W. C. Burnett, State Senator, and W. B. Winsor, R. M. Turner, A. J. Batchelder, John Sterritt and Jacob Shearer, Assemblymen. The political victory of the Know Nothings was sweeping and complete.

Batchelder lived to a ripe old age and was for years a grocery merchant and toward the end Public Administrator of Yuba County. Johnston (a venerable, one-armed man with a long white beard) was County Surveyor for many years. Magruder edited the *Marysville Appeal*, and was murdered in the Idaho or Montana region by robbers who sought the gold dust he was carrying. (Stanwood.) (Re J. M. Abbott, see Note 84.)

81. J. P. Crowell was long the Justice of the Peace at Camptonville, where he lived for many years.

82. Oroleva (sometimes called Oro Liva or Oro Lewa) was near Strawberry Valley on the road between the Clipper Mill and Woodville, in Butte County.

83. At this point in the Keystone Valley, A. P. [Peter] Labadie opened a hotel in 1851. The point was then known as Indiana Creek or "Tolles' New Diggins," and was first settled by the Page brothers, who came from Indiana. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 95.)

84. The Abbott House on the old Marysville-Foster's Bar turnpike, was opened early in the 'fifties by J. M. Abbott, under the name "Oak Grove House." (Marysville Directory for 1858, p. 92.) His daughter, Miss Phebe Abbott, married the late N. D. Rideout, the well-known banker. She still lives in San Francisco.

85. John Tolles kept a hotel, store and bowling alley at Indiana Ranch, which point at an early date was known as "Tolles' New Diggins." (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 95.)

86. J. A. McQuaid came to California from Ohio during the gold rush. He practiced



in the mountain diggings until 1857, when he removed to Marysville. He went to Virginia City, Nevada, in 1864, and in 1879 went to Bodie, then in its hey-day. There he practiced law in partnership with Richard S. Miner, who still lives at Independence. On the collapse of the Bodie mines in the middle 'eighties, McQuaid went to Eureka, California, and practiced his profession there for many years. He removed to San Francisco shortly after 1900 and died there a few years ago. He is said to have been a good lawyer, and to have ranked among the leaders of the bar wherever he resided. (Information from T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 50; William H. Matson, and Charles P. Cutten.)

87. Gabriel N. Swezy came to California from New York in 1850, being one of the original incorporators of Marysville. He was District Attorney of the county in 1853, City Attorney of Marysville in 1856, and member of the Assembly in 1857. He died in Marysville in 1875. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 51.)

88. J. L. Lockwood was an attorney and for a time Justice of the Peace at Camptonville. (Ramm.) He was called "Ante" Lockwood because he "always forgot to ante in poker. He was a good man at the game of 'brag'—a southern game still played at Camptonville." (Meek.)

89. In the Marysville Directory for 1855 (among the names "received too late for regular insertion") J. De Mott & Co., and Charles N. Gorham are listed as proprietors and editor respectively of the *Daily Inquirer*, with offices at the southeast corner of D and Third streets, third floor.

Amy's Marysville Directory for 1857 states of this paper:

"The first number of the *Inquirer* was issued by J. De Mott & Co., November 17th, 1855. It was then democratic and was edited by Charles M. Gorham, Esq. In January, 1856, George C. Gorham became three-fourths proprietor, and assisted in the editorial department. J. De Mott afterwards became sole proprietor, and on the 4th of March sold the establishment to Oscar O. Ball, Esq., the present proprietor, who eschewed politics until in August, 1856, when he hoisted the name of Millard Fillmore. It is still an American [i.e. Know Nothing] paper, and is edited by Wm. H. Mantz, Esq."

Thompson and West remark as follows (p. 74): "Although there was already one well established Democratic paper in the field [the *California Express*], yet J. De Mott & Co., commenced the issue of another, the *Daily Enquirer*, November 1, 1855. George C. Gorham wielded the editorial pen." It ceased to exist in December, 1857, having been successively Democratic, neutral, Know Nothing, and again Democratic.

(See also a "History of California Newspapers," *Sacramento Union*, Dec. 25, 1858.)

90. "The Old Line" refers to the California Stage Company, which was organized on January 1, 1854, with a capital stock of a million dollars. Pioneer stage men pooled their means in this organization and it soon attained an almost complete monopoly. (See T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 110.)

91. Rock Island Bar was settled by a company of men from Rock Island in the spring of 1850. It was located near the mouth of Scott's Bar Creek, and was soon worked out and abandoned.

92. The map of Northeastern Yuba County gives no hint of the wildly broken nature of the terrain. The general contour of the ridges suggests an old plateau, slightly tilted to the west, greatly cut away by erosion during recent geologic times. The Yuba River and its many branches have cut deeply into this old plateau, its gorges being from five hundred to over a thousand feet in depth. Oregon Creek canyon just south of Camptonville falls away on a grand scale. The "bars" were located along the rivers, with mountains towering up on both sides. The other towns and "diggins" were generally located on or near the tops of the highest rides, where the miners discovered the rich, gold-bearing gravels left by the rivers of earlier geologic ages. To one familiar with this broken terrain, De Long's active journeyings to and fro, on foot and on muleback, take on a new significance. It is a heavily wooded country, and to become lost was, and is, very easy, if one were to leave the beaten paths.

93. In its memorable "History of California Newspapers," the *Sacramento Union*, on December 25, 1858, had the following to say of this important early newspaper:

"The *Daily California Chronicle*, a journal destined to occupy a prominent place in the press of the State for a time was started on the 21st of November [1853], by Frank Soulé & Co. Soulé had been formerly connected with the *Alta*, as had, also, most of the other publishers, who were printers. The type and material on which the *Chronicle* appeared had been ordered by the proprietors of the *Alta California*, through Wm. L. Newell (one of the *Chronicle* company), who had solicited such order for a Boston firm of type makers, of which he was the agent. Newell had been retained in the office of the *Alta California*, as foreman, since 1849, but becoming dissatisfied with the publishers he abandoned his situation, and, when the new type arrived, refused to give it up to them. In the meantime, the old hands of the *Alta*, most of whom had grown comparatively rich from the concern, hearing that they were to be discharged and their places given to printers hired and brought out

from New York, united with Newell. It may have been concerted between Newell and his associates, while in their old place, to withdraw from the *Alta* and build up a newspaper which should overthrow it. At all events, this is what we find them attempting to do, the *California Chronicle* being an exact imitation of the pioneer journal, adopting its general tone, and seeking to ingratiate itself with the same classes of the community. It published a large amount of matter, and gradually gained in favor until in the Fall of 1855 it had a larger circulation than any other large paper in the city. At this time James Nisbet and John S. Hittell were associate editors. During the Winter of 1855 and 1856, the *Bulletin* gained rapidly in influence, and by frequent attacks on the *Chronicle* and Mr. Soulé, did it some injury. But the paper continued to flourish and to have a large circulation until the 14th of May, when King was shot. Mr. Soulé opposed the reorganization of the Vigilance Committee, and did not denounce the shooting as a murder, but referred to it as a homicide, in which both parties might be equally to blame. That day the paper was visited by the vengeance of an indignant community, by the withdrawal of numerous subscribers and advertisers. The next day the *Chronicle* endeavored to remedy its error by declaring in favor of the Vigilance Committee, but it was too late; popular favor could not be conciliated in that way, notwithstanding that the paper continued to advocate the cause of Vigilanceism from that time forward. During the Summer it became the organ of the Republican party, Soulé withdrawing from the editorship. By this time most of the shares were owned by Newell, he having bought from the printers in the days of the *Chronicle's* prosperity. During the Presidential canvass the paper was edited by various persons. The defeat of the party sank the fortunes of the *Chronicle* still lower, and in the Summer of 1857 Newell sold the concern, which had once been estimated as the most valuable newspaper property in the city, worth forty or fifty thousand dollars, for about five thousand dollars, to a joint stock company of Republicans. During the State election of that year the *Chronicle* was edited by J. H. Purdy and others. From September to the end of 1857 the leading articles were written by E. C. Kemble. Its circulation and business was small, and it was very much neglected by the trustees and managing men, and during the Winter barely maintained itself. In the Spring of 1858, the *Chronicle* breathed its last." See reprint of this article, entitled *A History of California Newspapers*, New York, 1927. A letter from William L. Newell somewhat modifying the above statement was printed in the *Sacramento Union* of March 4, 1859, and reprinted in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, September, 1928, Vol. VII, No. 3, pp. 280-81.

94. The El Dorado was the leading hostelry at Foster's Bar, under the proprietorship of Mrs. Stafford and later the Atchison brothers. De Long at another point calls it "that Hell of bed bugs, the El Dorado."

95. The New York Independent Guards was another of the many military companies formed by the youths of the mining communities as a partial outlet for the energy which was apparently still left after all day labors in the "diggins."

96. This delightfully named ravine remains as yet unidentified.

97. The firm of Reynolds Bros. consisted of G. A., C. H., and R. J. Reynolds, from Tennessee, doing a general banking business at First and Plaza, Marysville. (Marysville Directory 1855, p. 61.)

98. See entry for December 6, 1854.

99. George H. King married Miss Julia Lyman, sister of Dean B. Lyman. Both Lyman and King were from Hartford, Vermont, and figure frequently in the diary for 1856 and 1857: King as De Long's partner in the store at Young's Hill, and Lyman as a frequent visitor. Dr. George D. Lyman, of San Francisco, and Edward D. Lyman, an attorney of Los Angeles, are sons of Dean B. Lyman.

100. Fall, Eckman & Co., composed of John C. Fall, John S. Eckman and John H. Tennent, combined the business of bankers, gold dust buyers and dealers in general provisions and miners' supplies at Commercial and First streets, Marysville. Fall was one of the earliest of Marysville merchants and was a public-spirited citizen. He came to California and to the Marysville area in October, 1849, settling in Marysville the following year. Amy's Marysville Directory for 1858 states of Mr. Fall: "He has built many of the finest stores and carried on the largest business of any merchant in the city, and at one period conducted no less than three extensive establishments—that above named, one at Vernon, and one at Fremont. He retired from active management in his house in Marysville in 1857, having by his many qualifications obtained the marked respect and confidence not only of his fellow citizens, but of all with whom his business has in any way brought in contact. At the present time, he is largely interested in water ditch property, great portions of which have been constructed under his immediate supervision. The bridges in the vicinity of our city are in part the property of Mr. Fall. It may not be out of place to mention, in this brief notice, that he is President of the Sacramento Valley Railroad; also, of the State Agricultural Society for the year 1858."

101. The firm of Reinhart & Bro. consisted of Simon, Benjamin, and Eli Reinhart (the last listed as "Clerk") from Missouri. They did a general wholesale merchandise business on First Street, between Maiden Lane and D streets, Marysville. (Marysville Directory, 1855.)

102. The first theater of importance in Marysville was a wooden structure erected on D Street by Seymour Pixley and William W. Smith in 1852. It was destroyed by fire in May, 1854, and was replaced by a brick building, erected by R. A. Eddy on the west side of D Street between Second and Third. This theater was equal to four stories in height, with stores along the street below. It was destroyed by fire in 1864. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 73.)

103. See entry for April 7, 1855.

104. Mountain Cottage Hotel was high on the ridge above Bullard's Bar on the Marysville-Camptonville road, about half way to Dobbins' Ranch. It was built by Colonel Prentice at a point then known as "Five Mile Ranch." Prentice was Indian Agent having charge of the four or five thousand then surviving Yuba River Indians. He died in 1853, and the next year Messrs. Grove and Reed took over the hotel. (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 95.)

This "Mountain Cottage" should not be confused with the justly celebrated "Mountain House" which stood in a high and picturesque spot on the Camptonville-Downieville road at the very top of "Goodyear Hill," the twelve-mile climb out of the canyon of the Yuba at Goodyear's Bar. All that remains of the "Mountain House" are a few scattered timbers, some large excavations where once were great cellars, and the still unbroken but empty safe which lies unheeded on the slope.

105. Thompson and West have the following to say of this episode:

"On December 26, 1855, a Jew named Pete Summers came to town, and got on a holiday drunk. He went to a tailor shop kept by a Frenchman, and kicked in the door, when the proprietor shot him through the head, killing him instantly." (T. & W., *Yuba County*, p. 126.) De Long's contemporaneous entry, which pictures Pete Summers as being shot by the Jew, is the alternative to this account, and the reader may take his choice.

106. Wet weather was a requisite in the "hill diggings." In certain places the rich gravels of the ancient rivers were dug and made ready during the dry portion of the year, every drop of run-off during the rainy season being feverishly used to extract the gold. Some of this water would be used over and over again as it flowed down the mountain canyons. A dry winter meant ruin to the miners on the ridges.

107. "Rounce. This is [the game of] Rams with a full pack of 52 cards, and 3 to 9 players. Six cards are dealt to the widow, so that the one who takes it will have 11 cards to choose from. There is no obligation to head the trick, nor to undertrump, but the leader in each trick must play a trump if he has one." (Hoyle's *Games*, rev. by R. F. Foster, p. 335.)

108. These were correspondence sheets containing illustrations of the mining regions or other points of interest, with printed descriptions, and some blank paper for correspondence. They were in common use throughout California for several years. Scenes of current happenings, such as the Vigilance Committee executions, fires, floods, and the like, were also used to illustrate letter sheets. (See illustration of Chinese miners and gamblers.)

## CORRECTIONS AND ADDENDA TO THE ARTICLE ON THE VIGILANCE COMMITTEE, SAN FRANCISCO, 1856

### INTRODUCTION

I have no information regarding the author of these "Corrections and Addenda" other than a marginal note, "Ms. written by Thomas L. Rayner who lived in San Francisco in the days of the Vigilance Committee," signed "C H Barrows." The manuscript is written in a small, legible hand on white laid paper, and the style of chirography denotes that the writer was of the pioneer period. The ink is faded and the paper somewhat stained. I obtained the manuscript from a New York dealer, who writes me that he bought it from a sailor.

There have been several books and pamphlets and a large number of newspaper and magazine articles written regarding the Vigilance Committee of 1856. One of the earliest was a paper-covered pamphlet of eighty-three pages entitled "San Francisco Vigilance Committee of '56," edited by Frank Meriweather Smith, and published by Barry, Baird & Co., San Francisco, 1883. In 1890, James H. Barry published a paper-covered pamphlet of fifty-seven pages, entitled "The Vigilance Committee of 1856, by a Pioneer Journalist." This was written by James O'Meara, who was a well-known politician and journalist. He was affiliated with the opposition known as the "Law and Order" combination, who were opposed to the Vigilance Committee.

Rayner also makes an important historical statement regarding the career of "Yankee Sullivan" whom he shows to be an Englishman, a deserter from an English ship, and that the fear of being handed over to the British Consul was the reason for his suicide.

I am inclined to believe that Thomas L. Rayner's "Corrections and Addenda" refers to O'Meara's pamphlet. His description of the hanging of Casey and Cora is entirely different from that of O'Meara.

PHIL B. BEKEART.

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### THE MANUSCRIPT

Political life in San Francisco, during the early months of 1856, was divided between the Democratic, and the Know-Nothing parties, the former overwhelmingly the strongest.

The Democratic party was split into two factions: the "Rosewater" Southern men led by Doct Gwin [Senator William M. Gwin] and the "Tamany," led by David C. Broderick. The Rosewater faction — to use the slang of the day — were "on the Shoot and Stab," while the Tamany men preferred fist-fighting with occasional use of the pistol and knife when such adjuncts were deemed advisable. The Rosewater faction controlled most of the Federal offices — The Custom-house, Post Office — the Mint, the Indian Agency, the Land Surveyors' office &c. The Tamany men held most of the city and county offices. A reason-



able degree of hatred and malice existed between the two, each envious of the official possessions of the other, but the Southern men were far superior in political management and had the advantage of the backing from Washington, and consequently indulged themselves in a larger measure of contempt for and arrogance towards their more numerous brethren.<sup>1</sup>

*The provocation for Casey's Crime.*

At a primary election, held some months before the killing of Mr. King [James King of William] — James P. Casey had stabbed two of the Rosewater faction, so badly that both were lamed for life.<sup>2</sup> Their names were Bradley [Bagley] and Cushing, and as soon as they were tolerably recovered were duly provided with offices in the Custom-house. Casey went unpunished, but was presently made a Supervisor of the County of San Francisco from a district in which he had never resided, and where his name was not mentioned at the county election.

Mr. James King commented severely in his journal, the *Evening Bulletin*, upon such political chicanery, particularly upon the appointment of such men

<sup>1</sup> For an account of the political situation here referred to, see *Broderick and Gwin, a Brief History of Early Politics in California*, by James O'Meara, San Francisco, 1881.

This and the following foot-notes have been added by the Editor.

<sup>2</sup> O'Meara, in *The Vigilance Committee of 1856*, San Francisco, 1890, pp. 24-26, says:

"James P. Casey was a young man of bright, intelligent and rather prepossessing face, neat in his person, inclined to fine clothes, but not flashy or gaudy in his attire. . . . He had served as Assistant County Treasurer for two years, handled a large aggregate of money in that capacity, and his accounts squared to a cent when he handed over the books to his successor. He was twice Supervisor. His record in that office will favorably compare with that of any who have succeeded him. During his lifetime in San Francisco he was never accused of crime; never suspected of criminal offense. Ballot-box stuffing was charged to his account; also fraudulent counting in elections. Doubtless there was foundation for each charge. But there were members of the Executive Committee who had been associated with him in these gross wrongs, and at least one of them had gained place and profit therefrom; and these equally or more guilty men voted to hang their former associate in evil deeds. . . . Casey was once in the city prison for riotous conduct. At a very hotly contested democratic primary election, in the early fall of 1855, between the Broderick and Gwin wings of the party, Casey got into trouble. The polls were on Kearny near Pine street. Toward the close nearly all on each side who had participated in the election were in inflamed condition. Casey had gone to the polling place to ascertain the result. He carried no weapon. Immediately he was set upon by five of the wing, to which he was opposed — Bob Cushing, J. W. Bagley, and three others, all armed with either knife or pistol — two of them with both. Casey did not know fear; he was game from crown to toe. One ball grazed his forehead on the right side, another the occiput just behind the left ear, and shot off his hat. His shiner bald head made that a conspicuous mark, but the range was too short and the shooters were too excited for accurate aim. Casey had been taken by surprise, but the slight creasing of the bullets, abrading the skin and stinging, instantly impelled him to rapid and desperate action. He rushed upon one of his assailants and wrested a knife from his grasp. With this he turned upon Cushing, plunged it in his body just above the lower ribs, and as Cushing was sinking to the ground he turned the knife and cut upwards with such power as to cleave the rib the blade struck against. One of the five had become so nerveless at the sight, that he dropped his pistol. Casey leaped and secured it. He shot at Bagley and the ball penetrated his breast. As he fell, Casey likewise secured his pistol. The two others were game, but confused and shot wildly. The bullets went through Casey's coat and vest, riddling each in a dozen places; but not one of them did so much as graze his skin. The third man had been paralyzed with fright after the first clash. After emptying their revolvers ineffectually the two others left the ground; Casey remained the master of it. Not for long, however. A policeman who had watched the affray from a safe distance then rushed up, arrested Casey, took him to the City prison, and booked him for assault with a deadly weapon."

Cf. also *A True and Minute History of the Assassination of James King of Wm.*, San Francisco, 1856, p. 20.

as Bagley and Cushing to lucrative employment under the government. The article was so caustic, it forced a reply from them in which they stated that Casey had been an inmate of Sing-Sing State Prison. Mr. King published their letter, and in his comments thereon, said, "it makes no difference whether Casey had been an inmate of Sing-Sing State prison or no, Bagley and Cushing had failed to clear up or excuse their share in the disgraceful broil of the primary election."<sup>3</sup>

Mr. Casey was indignant that the Episode of his State prison life in New York should be thus publicly made known in San Francisco. He immediately called upon Mr. King and desired retraction and apology. He was refused either and ordered out of Mr Kings office. Casey concerted at once with two friends Ned McGowan and Abe Wakeman.<sup>4</sup> McGowan was stationed opposite Mr. Kings office to watch for his return to his home, Wakeman carried the information to Casey who awaited Kings approach on the corner of Washington and Montgomery Streets. As Mr. King crossed from Montgomery diagonally to the corner of Washington Street, Casey advanced to the middle of the Street and said, "Are you armed?" and fired upon him immediately, not giving him time to reply. Casey fled at once to the City Hall (then on the Plaza) where he was awaited by Charley Duane (Dutch Charley)<sup>5</sup> an Employe of the Register's office and Billy Mulligan<sup>6</sup> — a turnkey of the jail, two notorious bruisers, per-

<sup>3</sup> "The fact that Casey has been an inmate of Sing-Sing prison in New York, is no offence against the laws of this State; nor is the fact of his having stuffed himself through the ballot-box as elected to the board of Supervisors from a district where it is said he was not even a candidate, any justification for Mr. Bagley to shoot Casey, however richly the latter may deserve to have his neck stretched for such fraud on the people. These are acts against the public good, not against Mr. Bagley in particular, and however much we may detest Casey's former character, or be convinced of the shallowness of his promised reformation, we cannot justify the assumption by Mr. Bagley to take upon himself the redressing of these wrongs." *Bulletin*, San Francisco, May 14, 1856, quoted in *A True and Minute History of the Assassination of James King of Wm. . . .*, San Francisco, 1856, p. 4.

<sup>4</sup> See *Narrative of Edward McGowan*, San Francisco, 1857, and "Ned, the Ubiquitous," by Carl I. Wheat, this *Quarterly*, Vol. VI, pp. 3-36.

<sup>5</sup> O'Meara, *op. cit.* p. 47, states:

"Charley Duane was a man of extraordinary character in his line of life. He had made reputation as a 'handy man in a fight' and a very hard one to master before he came of age, in New York. He came to San Francisco early in 1850, in company with Tom Hyer, the champion prize-fighter. He had got the sobriquet of 'Dutch Charley' in New York, notwithstanding his Irish blood. Hyer euphonized this into 'German Charles.' Hyer returned to New York; Duane remained here. He was a zealous, very active Whig, an equally zealous and active fireman; and was once elected Chief Engineer of the Department, against George Hossefross. Subsequently he was appointed one of the Sheriff's deputies. He had killed a Frenchman in a difficulty, was tried for the deed and acquitted. No charge of dishonest nature — theft, fraud, swindling, embezzlement, or anything of the kind, was ever brought against him. He was somewhat prone to fight, and this was the worst that could be charged upon him. I am not aware that he was ever accused of crookedness in elections except in his zeal to secure the election of Delos Lake, Whig, as District Judge, in 1851. When the Vigilance Committee was organized, in 1856, he openly and boldly denounced it, and was an ardent supporter of the Law and Order side. On what charge he was arrested and banished I have never been able to ascertain. The manner of his arrest added no laurels to the parties who conspired to effect it and the participants in the arrest. It bore the tokens of jealousy and spite sprung from his election years before as Chief Engineer, more than of any present cause. He was entrapped, seized, hauled to the committee cells and banished nevertheless."

<sup>6</sup> O'Meara, *ibid.*, says of this worthy:

"Billy Mulligan was the incarnation of fearlessness, fight and frolic — dangerous frolic it was sometimes to any he did not like. Of low stature, slight frame, active as a cat, the expression of a bull-terrier, and as quick to an encounter, Mulligan was not a man to pick a quarrel with — the other party invariably second best. He had served under Colonel Jack

sonal and political friends of Casey who conveyed him in a hack to the jail, where he was placed in the custody of Dave Scannel, the Sheriff and Keeper of the Oseola gambling house, for safety, until the Storm raised by the murder should blow over. Scannel ordered out the military companies of the county and armed numerous friends to "protect the jail." Wakeman and McGowan vainly attempted to still the quickly gathering populace, by asserting — "it was a matter of no consequence — street affray and one man shot!"

### *The Vigilance Committee formed.*

The Vigilance committee was formed the same evening (Wednesday, May 14<sup>th</sup>,) at Post's wharf. One hundred men only were admitted. This first 100 men resolved themselves into an Executive committee, and chose William T. Coleman a prominent merchant as President, and Trenor W. Park as legal adviser. Other than these two, members were known only by their numbers. No. 33 (Isaac Bluxome [Jr.]) was made Secretary; and "No. 33" was sufficient signature for any mandate of the committee either for arrest, execution or expatriation.

Recruiting offices were opened Thursday morning, and kept open until Friday night. Twenty five hundred men were enrolled and ordered to assemble at the Turner Verein Music Hall [on Bush Street], Friday evening, where they were grouped into companies of 100 by numbers as they had enlisted; Company No 1 — men numbering 100-to-200; "No 2" men from 200-to-300 &c. Each company was directed to choose a Captain and two lieutenants and where the company should meet for drill on Saturday morning at Eight o'clock. All the small halls and other suitable places of the city had been engaged by the executive committee. Each company found boxes of muskets, accoutrements and ammunition awaiting them, and spent the day in drill and preparing for active service.

### *The Governor of the State appears.*

At the meeting at Music Hall, the Governor, W. Neely Johnson appeared while the Committee was in session. He was conducted to the Executive Com-

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Hays in his troop of Texan Rangers, and Colonel Hays gave the praise that he was one of the bravest, pluckiest, most daring and desperate fighters he had ever had in his command. Billy had his full share of the vices of drinking, gambling, fighting and a fast life. He was active in politics and 'went in to win.' But he had the virtue not to lie; and he would not betray any confidence reposed in him, turn faithless to any promise he made. He was bold, frank, manly, magnanimous except towards those he despised as well as hated, and to these he was implacable and merciless. The world's wealth couldn't seduce or bribe him from the support of the men he liked, no matter how poor they might be; and he would on every occasion interpose to protect the helpless and defenseless from the violence or maltreatment of others. Crime of any degree was never alleged to his account. He had faithfully served as collector of moneys for the County Treasurer two years, and fully accounted for every dollar that he received. Beyond his fighting bouts and his conduct in elections — about the same as prevails now — there was nothing to warrant his arrest and banishment. But the terrors of Fort Gunny Bags did not intimidate Mulligan. One of the committee remarked to me, on the occasion of his death by the rifle shot of a policeman while he was wild with delirium tremens, that he was the only prisoner ever put in the committee cells who did not 'weaken.' He was a character the community could well spare; but he had given the committee no offence to justify his banishment."



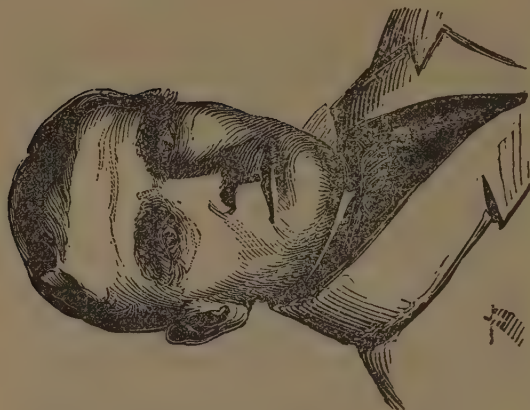
### JAMES P. CASEY,

According to his own account, was born in New York City, in 1827, and at the time of his death was twenty-nine years old; but by the Sing Sing Prison certificate and description of his person, he is said to be at that time (1849) thirty-two years old, which would make him thirty-nine at the time of his death; and, as his description is very accurate in other respects, we are inclined to believe it most reliable in this.



### CHARLES CORA

Was born in Genoa, in the year 1818, and was forty-three years old at the time of his death. Of his early history little is known—the first we hear of him was at Natchez, Mississippi, about the year 1836. He was then quite a young man, leading a dissolute life, associating with abandoned characters, and gambling for a livelihood. From there he went to New Orleans, where he took up with Belle Cora, with whom, in 1849 or 50, he came to California.



### YANKEE SULLIVAN,

The subject of this sketch was born in Ireland, and at the time of his death was about forty-nine years of age. His vocation is too well known to require mention here. He came to California in 1850, and soon left for New York, from which place he returned to San Francisco in 1854. He was arrested by the Vigilance Committee, and terminated his career by suicide, for fear of being sent to Sydney, where he had been transported for felony, and escaped to the United States in 1859.



mittee on the platform and he asked them what they required. They told him, "Nothing, except to put a guard into the jail to see that Casey did not escape through the connivance of Scannel, Mulligan and Duane. The Governor (Know Nothing) acceded to their request, a guard of 28 armed men were selected and accompanied by the Governor proceeded to the jail, where he instructed the Sheriff to allow the guard to be placed wherever its Captain deemed necessary. The guard was maintained until Sunday, when Casey was taken to the Headquarters of the Committee.

### *Casey taken from the jail.*

On Sunday a cannon was procured from the store of McCondray & Co on Sansome Street and orders to have it and the infantry in position before the jail at five minutes before twelve o'clock, were issued.

At ten minutes after twelve General [Charles] Doane commanding the Vigilance force, sent an officer to the jail to demand the body of Casey. He was met by Deputy Sheriff Harrison who retired to consult Sheriff Scannel, and returned in about ten minutes with Casey, and delivered him up to the Committee.

The Scene within the jail was thus described to the writer by Charles Rand, a member of the V. C. guard and an eye-witness.

"Scannel the Sheriff entered the cell and said; 'Jim there are 2500 armed men come for you, and I've not 500 to defend the jail with: I shall have to give you up.'

Casey, who was armed with a large bowie knife cried; 'Dave, I made you sheriff — Now, G—— D—— you, take care of me.'

The pistols of the guard however, quickly persuaded him to drop the knife, and he came out quietly to Deputy Sheriff Harrison who surrendered him to the officer of the committee. Casey was placed in a hack and surrounded by troops. Then the shout bring out Cora was raised all along the lines and Gen. Doane sent an officer to demand him, but Sheriff Scannel refused to give him up.

### *Cora's Crime.*

In November 1855, [Charles] Cora had had a slight quarrel with General [William H.] Richardson, the United States marshal of the district, which was apparently settled by the interposition of friends. Meeting accidentally the next day they walked together quietly conversing a short distance and stopped at the door of Fox & O'Connor's store corner of Leidsdorf and Clay Streets, where Cora treacherously put a pistol to the heart of the unsuspecting Richardson and shot him dead.<sup>7</sup> Cora was a gambler, and the "Man" of a brothel kept by a notorious woman of the town, who spent large sums of money for his deliver-

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<sup>7</sup> See the *Alta California*, Nov. 18, 1855; also Smith, Frank Meriweather, *San Francisco Vigilance Committee of '56*, pp. 15-31, and O'Meara, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-16.

ance.<sup>8</sup> While he was on trial, a member of the jury arose and said he had been offered \$10,000 to vote "Not Guilty," but still the trial proceeded with the usual result of murder trials in those days — a disagreement. This verdict was deeply resented by the citizens — the assassination had been so unprovoked and wanton, and the consequent excitement was the prelude to the formation of the Committee on the murder of King.

*Cora taken by the Committee.*

Upon the refusal of the Sheriff to deliver Cora, General Doane gave him one hour to consult with his officers and friends, the troops meanwhile remaining in position. At the end of the hour, the Sheriff still refusing, the General gave the order to prepare for action. The linstock was lighted and all was ready for the assault, when the doors were suddenly thrown open and the Deputy Harrison brought out Cora and delivered him to the Committee.

He was placed in a hack behind the one carrying Casey and line of march taken for the Headquarters where both were confined until the succeeding Wednesday, when they were hanged.

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<sup>8</sup> O'Meara, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16, says of Belle Cora:

"The application of Cora's friends to several of the most noted criminal lawyers in the city, to defend him, was in many instances declined. Cora had one to his support, however, who proved more successful in engaging counsel in his behalf. This was the woman known as Belle Cora, the keeper of a notorious house, with whom Cora lived. She was rich and possessed of indomitable spirit. She was devoted to Cora. In this connection I will relate that which Governor Foote imparted to myself and J. Ross Browne, on a trip to Oregon, late in the summer of 1857. It was substantially this. Belle Cora had gone herself to the law office of Colonel E. D. Baker, to engage him as counsel for Cora, and had succeeded. The fee was to be \$5,000; one-half this sum was immediately paid to him. She then applied to Governor Foote to engage him to assist in the case. He declined, but assured her that he should not appear for the prosecution. In a few days, on account of the intense popular feeling toward Cora, and also because the law partner of Colonel Baker had strenuously objected to his acting as counsel for Cora, as it would greatly damage their professional business and their personal standing in the community, Baker called upon Governor Foote and requested him to see Belle Cora and apprise her that she must employ some other counsel; that he felt that he must withdraw from the case — the \$2,500 already paid would be returned to her. To extricate his professional brother from his unpleasant situation, Governor Foote consented to undertake the disagreeable mission. The woman was immovable in her determination to keep Colonel Baker to his engagement. And she intimated in terms not to be misunderstood that she was determined that he should fulfil his obligation. Colonel Baker was a man of dauntless courage in facing dangers of human quality; but he was in constant fear at sea; and it seems there was another quality of peril which overmastered his intrepid spirit. When Governor Foote related to him the result of his mission, he advised the Colonel to see the woman himself. Colonel Baker did go, Governor Foote accompanying him. The Governor said he had never witnessed such a manifestation of a woman's power and irresistible influence. Belle Cora was inspired to the height of heroism, and in her devotion to Cora, her purpose to secure his acquittal and prevent his sacrifice. She first appealed, implored, begged Colonel Baker to stand by his engagement. He making no response, and seeming not to yield, she commanded that he must, that he should. She would double his fee. She would have him appear as Cora's counsel, if he did no more than sit in Court with Cora near him, and speak no word at all. But go in Court and have it known that he was Cora's counsel, he must. She was inflexible in this. And when the day of the trial came Colonel Baker did appear, together with General James A. McDougall, Colonel James and Frank Tilford — as counsel for Charles Cora, and it was on that trial that he made the most eloquent and extraordinary argument and plea of his life in a criminal case." This famous speech in defense of Cora was printed in *Eloquence of the Far West, No. 1, Masterpieces of E. D. Baker*, edited by Oscar T. Shuck, San Francisco, 1899.

*The Execution.*

When the men were brought to their traps for execution, Casey looked haggard and nervous but Cora was perfectly cool and self-possessed. Casey attempted to speak but utterly broke down on his first sentence, and after, the speech was only muttered ejaculations — "Jesus have mercy on mercy on my soul; Oh my poor mother — God help her; Jesus Christ have mercy; — Virgin Mary help me now, &c." His knees weakened refusing support, his body sinking slowly as he retreated inside of the building. The rope was quickly adjusted, and he reappeared, his body almost touching his heels as he was pushed and steadied on to the trip by the hands of the hangman.

Cora meanwhile had stood firmly, seemingly more concerned about the arrangement of the troops and the slight disturbances between them and the mob of people surrounding them, than of his own position and fate. He looked at Casey occasionally with undisguised contempt and stepped forward boldly at the word so soon as Casey had been guided onto his trap, when the supporting ropes were cut and both men swung in the air. Casey held his handkerchief in his hand as his trap fell. In a few seconds it came fluttering to the ground. That was the most startling and painful moment of the execution and elicited a suppressed murmur — between a sigh and a moan from the troops and mob alike.<sup>9</sup>

*After the Execution.*

On the 25<sup>th</sup> May 1856, orders were issued by the Vigilance Executive Committee for the arrest of Duane, Mulligan and others, well known as bullies, political heelers, ballot box stuffers &c. The arrest and trial of many of them quickly followed. Some were ordered to leave the state at once on penalty of death; others were retained in confinement.

On the Sixth of June, Six of the latter were taken from their cells in the V. C. headquarters, at half past two o'clock in the morning and conducted under a guard of 28 soldiers and 12 policemen to the Steam-tug Hercules at the foot of California Street Wharf. The tug quickly left the pier, carrying prisoners and guard and hitched to a ship ready for sea, lying at anchor in the bay. She was towed beyond the Golden Gate and the tug returned inside the heads. About day break the barque Yankee appeared, bound for the Sandwich Islands.

The prisoners were told that three of them were to go to the Islands, Martin Gallagher, Billy Carr,<sup>10</sup> and Ned Bulger, elected to go on the barque. Their

<sup>9</sup> For other accounts of the execution of Casey and Cora, see Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-55; O'Meara, *op. cit.*, pp. 28-29; also *A True and Minute History of the Assassination of James King of William*, p. 26.

<sup>10</sup> O'Meara, *op. cit.*, p. 49, says:

"Martin Gallagher and Billy Carr were boatmen, and active in party manipulations in the interest of Mr. Broderick in the First Ward. They were tough men to handle in a fight, and usually forced their own way in anything they undertook. With Mulligan they often sat as delegates in city, county and State conventions of the Democracy — together with several other of their associates and kind, who are still more or less prominent in city politics — some of them Democrats, some Republicans."

shackles were removed, the barque hove to, a boat lowered, and they were transferred to the vessel, which made sail soon as they were on board. About four oclock in the afternoon the other three were placed on board the Steamer Golden Age, bound for Accapulco. They were Billy Mulligan, Chas Duane and Wooley Kearney.<sup>11</sup>

*Yankee Sullivan.*

This man was a notorious prize fighter, and one of the Tammany tools. An Englishman by birth he had deserted from the English Army in India, found his way back to London, where he was convicted of burglary and assault and sentenced to transportation to New South Wales for life. He made his escape to an American ship and reached New York where he quickly became notorious as a prize fighter and bruiser. Thence he fled to escape punishment for his crimes to San Francisco where his services were quickly utilized by the Tammany politicians. His proper name was Frank Murray. He was arrested on the 25<sup>th</sup> May by the Vigilance Committee for ballot-box stuffing in the Presidio precinct, found guilty, and sentence deferred, but committed suicide on the 31<sup>st</sup> May by cutting his left arm above the elbow with a case-knife. His fear of being delivered to the English consul for retransportation to New South Wales was the reason of his suicide.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Says O'Meara, *ibid.*, pp. 49-50:

"Unless it was on account of Woolley Kearney's facial configuration, I have never been able to divine why the Committee banished him. He was the homeliest, ugliest looking mortal I ever saw. Had the Committee compelled him to go as the Veiled Prophet, with a gunny sack instead of silver veil, there would have been at least the essence of justice in their action. His battered, flattened, twisted, gnarled nose, was at every point of the compass, and more hideous at every turn. Why he didn't blow it off when he blowed it, blow'd if any could conjecture. His eyes were squinted, his mouth a monstrous curiosity. Every feature seemed in revolt at that nose. It would have struck awe to the spirit of an Ogre. Woolley was no doubt ready and willing to do any crooked deed, but none who knew him would employ him on any mission in which skill and fidelity were required. His banishment had, perhaps, a good effect upon the unborn generation, whose parents had not then entered the matrimonial state. Whatever other purpose it subverted, except to show to other communities the 'latest novelty' from California, is the unfathomable conundrum."

<sup>12</sup> There seems to be no doubt but that Sullivan was an English subject and that he came to America fresh from a rough career in London's east end. He became heavyweight champion of America and was technically defeated by John Morrissey in a memorable battle at Boston Corners in 1853, after Morrissey had pushed him to the ropes and gotten him embroiled with the seconds.

Of Sullivan, O'Meara, *ibid.*, pp. 48-49, says:

"Yankee Sullivan's character is notorious. He was a professional prize-fighter — ready to try conclusions in the fistic ring with any in the world; but he feared a pistol or a knife as an ordinary man would fear a blow from his powerful arm. He had helped Mulligan and Casey in some of their election operations, and for that he was arrested. There was no charge of any other nature than this and his fighting quality to warrant his arrest. His courage or spirit broke down while confined in the close cell, and one morning his lifeless body was found stiff in the cell. He had opened a vein in his arm and bled to death. The rumor at the time was — and is still believed — that he was driven to the deed by the remark made by one of the Vigilance guards outside the cell, but spoken in tone calculated for Sullivan to hear it, that he was to be hanged the next morning. To escape the ignominy of such a death, he anticipated it by his own hand."



*Further Executions.*

On the 25 June 1856, Philander Brace, an American, was arrested for the murder of Jas. B. West in June 1855, and on the 24th June '56, Joe Herrington [Hetherington] was arrested, for the killing of Dr. Andrew Randall in the St Nicholas Hotel on the afternoon of that day.

Both men were duly tried and convicted, and sentenced to be hanged. They were hung on Tuesday July 29/56 on the open square between Front and Davis Streets, and Sacramento and Commercial Streets made vacant by a recent fire.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> See Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-78.

## THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE SO-CALLED "GORDON MANUSCRIPT"

One of the notable documents in the historiography of California is the so-called "Gordon Manuscript," the original of which is in the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois. A photostat copy has been acquired by the Bancroft Library, University of California, and is the principal basis of the study which follows.

The "Gordon Manuscript" is a 375-page account of the Indian revolt of 1734-1737 in California, told by a Jesuit whose experience on the Peninsula was intimately connected with that episode. A critical examination of the manuscript, however, shows that the author was not William Gordon, but Sigismundo Taraval.

The error of ascribing this document to Father Gordon is a most surprising one, doubtless made in the first place by one who had never read the manuscript, and accepted by others without question. The document reveals no direct declaration of authorship, perhaps because at some time in its long history a person with a pair of shears cut several of its pages both from the front and the back. The identification professes to depend on "certain statements of Clavigero," when, as a matter of fact, all that Clavigero says points to Father Taraval as the author, a conclusion which is fully confirmed by Venegas, by the "Gordon Manuscript" itself, and by other contemporary sources.

It was Bernard Quaritch, London rare book dealer, who did the mischief. In July, 1880, the manuscript became known to collectors, when the library of Don José Fernando Ramírez was offered at public auction in London. In the Ramírez sale catalogue<sup>1</sup> was listed the following item:

"No. 417. Jesuits in California. Historia de las Misiones Jesuitas en la California baja desde su establecimiento hasta 1737. Original MSS in 4to. 187 leaves."<sup>2</sup>

Quaritch bought the document, and in 1886 offered it for sale as the work of the Scotch Jesuit, William Gordon.

The manuscript was described as follows:<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Catalogue of the Library of Valuable Books and Important MSS., chiefly relating to Mexico. Formed by the late Señor Don José Fernando Ramírez.

<sup>2</sup>The title was impressive, but inaccurate. The manuscript is not a history of the Jesuit missions in Baja California from their establishment to 1737. Rather, it is the picture of a single episode in that history, namely the Indian revolt of 1734-1737. With the exception of no more than thirteen pages that event is its entire theme. The comprehensive title was doubtless coined to give the manuscript increased sale value.

<sup>3</sup>Quaritch, Bernard, *General Catalogue of books offered to the public at the affixed prices*. London, 1880-1892.

The manuscript was described thus in detail:

"This is the original autograph diary kept by William Gordon, one of the Jesuit Missionaries employed in the conversion of the Indians. Although his name does not appear anywhere, and there is a leaf wanting at the end of the book, we know from comparing the text with certain statements of Clavigero that the writer was the Hispano-Scottish Jesuit

"No. 29873. Gordon (Guillermo) Historia de las Misiones Jesuitas en la California baja desde su establecimiento hasta 1737, sm. 4to. about 360 pp. original MS. account or diary, begun at La Paz in 1734 and ended at Santiago in 1737, bd. 70¢ California, 1737."

The identification, based on a faulty reading both of the document and the secondary writers, Clavigero and Venegas, falls by its own argument, which I now give.

(1) "Although his name does not appear anywhere," says Quaritch, "we know from comparing the text with certain statements of Clavigero that the writer was Father William Gordon." Clavigero's statements about Gordon are just two, and have no bearing on the authorship of the manuscript.

a. "Then the visitador and Father Tamaral embarked, going first to La Paz, where at that time was the Scotch missionary, William Gordon."<sup>4</sup>

b. "They found evidence of the murder of the only soldier who was at the port of La Paz, who was guarding the temporalities of that mission during the absence of Father Gordon, who had gone to Loreto to get provisions."<sup>5</sup> Gordon drops from the Clavigero story before the revolt has actually begun.

(2) "The diary serves admirably as a continuation of Venegas," states the Quaritch catalogue, "whose account at the Mission of La Paz breaks off with the retreat of Gordon, after the martyrdom of Tamaral and Carranco." Strangely, though, the Venegas account does not "end" with the retreat of Gordon, but with that of Sigismundo Taraval. "To this delay," Venegas says, "was owing the life of Father Sigismundo Taraval, missionary of Santa Rosa, now residing in the town of Todos Santos. . . . Accordingly, on the night of the 4th of October he retired to La Paz . . . and crossed in a canoe to the island of Espíritu Santo."<sup>6</sup> If Quaritch had correctly read Venegas, on whom he relies, he would have seen that it was Taraval and not Gordon who made the escape.

The late Mr. Charles F. Lummis, who examined the manuscript, and who, as Librarian, obtained a typewritten copy from Mr. Ayer in 1908 for the Los

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William Gordon. The diary serves admirably as a continuation of Venegas, whose account of the Mission at La Paz breaks off with the retreat of Gordon, after the martyrdom of Tamaral and Carranco. The work is divided into 324 paragraphs, of which the first two and part of the third are wanting. The author gives at the beginning an outline of the establishment of the first Missions in Lower California in 1697, a description of the several nations which inhabited the Peninsula, with a sketch of their habits, customs and religion. The author does not tell us what year he came to California, but in 1734 we find him already charged with the Misiones de Nuestra Señora del Pilar.

"The stirring events between 1734 and 1737 are described with a singleness of purpose and a simplicity of manner beyond all description, reminding the reader of Defoe's magical narrative.

"The character of the Indians, the privations of the Missionaries, the hardships of their daily life, their conflicts with the civil and military authorities, are all brought before the reader in the most vivid and at the same time most unpretentious manner.

"The volume is certainly a very charming one, and not only merits publication, but even an English translation would probably be popular in California."

<sup>4</sup>Clavigero, S. Francesco Saverio, *Storia della California*, II, 71.

<sup>5</sup>*Ibid.*, 86.

<sup>6</sup>Venegas, Miguel, *Noticia de la California*, II, 475-476. Incidentally, Venegas does not end the story of the revolt at this point.

Angeles Public Library,<sup>7</sup> accepted the Quaritch identification, even though he was forced to remark "it seems odd for a Scot to be writing; but this one did—and good Spanish, and in a beautiful Spanish hand." He also found it strange that "Bancroft knew nothing about this remarkable manuscript, which is far more important than most of those upon which he does depend; and has but a bare mention of the name of this extraordinary character [Gordon]."

A critical examination of the document shows that not Father Gordon, but Sigismundo Taraval, was its author.

(1) The author states (p. 14) that he was at the Pueblo of Todos Santos at the time of the revolt. A fellow missionary, Clemente Guillen, in a letter to the viceroy, dated from Mission Dolores in California, October 23, 1734,<sup>8</sup> identifies the father at Todos Santos as "Rector Father Sigismundo Taraval, minister of La Paz, residing in the town of Todos Santos." So likewise do Venegas and Clavigero.<sup>9</sup>

(2) The author gives the details of his escape to La Paz, and from there to the Island of Espíritu Santo, after hearing of the murders of Fathers Carranco and Tamaral (pp. 41-54). Guillen, Venegas, Clavigero, and Alegre,<sup>10</sup> all identify Taraval as the missionary who made that flight.

(3) The author states (p. 204) that "años pasados" he served at Mission San Ignacio, when its minister was away. Venegas, and Clavigero<sup>11</sup> identify the father who thus substituted as Tarvaal.

(4) The author writes the manuscript in the first person. He mentions William Gordon in the third person (p. 172), and assigns him "to the pueblo of San Miguel, where he was assisting."

(5) The author names (p. 172) the fathers who were in California at the time of the revolt, omitting one whom we know to have been there—Sigismundo Taraval.

(6) In the Bancroft Library is an identified Taraval document, *Elogios de Misioneros de Baja California*.<sup>12</sup> It comprises eulogies and biographical sketches of Fathers Carranco, Tamaral, and Mayorga. These same eulogies and sketches form a part of the manuscript of the revolt. On pages 284-294 are those to Carranco and Tamaral; on pages 334-340 is the one honoring Julian Mayorga.

That the manuscript is the work of Sigismundo Taraval greatly enhances its value. Aside from the fact that he has been credited with the authorship of the narrative, Father Gordon plays a very unimportant part in California history.

<sup>7</sup>In the 20th Annual Report of the Los Angeles Public Library (for the year ending November 30, 1908), pp. 30-31, the acquisition of the manuscript was commented on at length. The following quotations are extracts from that report.

<sup>8</sup>Clemente Guillen to the viceroy, Dolores, October 23, 1734. Archivo General de Indias, 67-3-27.

<sup>9</sup>Venegas, *op. cit.*, 474; Clavigero, *op. cit.*, 78.

<sup>10</sup>Clemente Guillen to the viceroy, Dolores, October 23, 1734. A.G.I. 67-3-27; Venegas, *op. cit.*, 474-476; Clavigero, *op. cit.*, 93-94; Alegre, Francisco Xavier, *Historia de la Compañía en Nueva España*, III, 256.

<sup>11</sup>Venegas, *op. cit.*, 435; Clavigero, *op. cit.*, 74.

<sup>12</sup>Mexican MSS. 233.



Indeed, there would be cause for surprise if he had written such a work. Father Taraval, on the other hand, was California's "learned missionary," and famed for his historical writings. His account of the uprising is merely a portion of a vast compilation of historical data which were drawn upon freely by Venegas. "Chosen as the founder of a new mission," remarks Venegas of Taraval when he came to the Peninsula, "Father Provincial Juan Antonio de Oviedo added the charge that he collect material for a formation of the history of all the new mission from its establishment."<sup>13</sup> The constant recognition which Venegas gives Taraval throughout the *Noticia* shows that his contribution to the history of California through his research and literary efforts was very great—that indeed he was *the* scholar and historian whom the Jesuits of that Foundation produced. The experience of the revolt, in which he was so personally involved, naturally constituted a significant and detailed portion of his literary work.

HELEN S. CARR.

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<sup>13</sup>Venegas, *op. cit.*, 433-434.

## THE NEW BELL AT SANTA CLARA MISSION

On October 12, 1929, the ceremony of the blessing and installation of a new mission bell — the gift of His Majesty King Alphonso XIII of Spain, took place at the Mission of Santa Clara. Shortly after the founding of the Mission in 1777, the Spanish Monarch Charles IV presented the padres with a set of three bells, on condition that they be rung at 8:30 every night for the souls in Purgatory. On the morning of October 25, 1926, a fire destroyed the Mission and one of the bells, and so badly injured a second bell that it had to be recast. However, that same evening at the usual hour, the remaining bell gave forth its blessing from a rudely constructed scaffold, built by the engineering students of the University. When the present King heard of the fire and destruction of his grandsire's gift, he at once gave orders for a new bell, to be cast at the Royal Arsenal, and which reached San Francisco on August 30 of this year.

The bell is about two and one-half feet in height and its weight about 600 pounds. It bears the following Latin inscription and the seal of the King: ALPHONSUS XIII REX HISPANIAE HOC ALS COMPANUM CUJUS AD PULSUM B. VIRGO COTIDIE COLERETUR IN LOCUM ILLIUS QUOD A CAROLO V DONATUM IGNE ABSUMTUM EST LYCAEO S. I. STAE CLARA MUNIFICE D. D. A. MCXXIX.

The dedication ceremonies opened with a pageant parade, led by Adjutant General R. E. Mittelstaedt and staff, followed by troops from the former Royal Presidios of Spain, at San Francisco and Monterey. Sailors from several warships preceded a number of floats, patriotic and military societies and representatives of early Spanish and pioneer families. Blessing of the bell followed the parade, the Right Rev. John B. McGinley, Bishop of Monterey-Fresno, officiating.

Addresses were made by Father Augustine, O. F. M., on behalf of the founders of the Mission; Hon. Fred Stevenot, son of a Santa Clara student of the 'sixties, representing the Governor of California, and by James A. Bacigalupi, of San Francisco; and messages from His Majesty King Alphonso XIII and the Spanish Ambassador at Washington, were read by Señor Don Sebastian de Romero, Consul of Spain.

The hanging of the bell took place, while the military band from the Presidio of Monterey played Spanish and American airs and circling airplanes dropped roses upon the historic edifice. Benediction in the Mission, followed by a reception at the University and an illumination of the town, closed the events of the day, which were attended by many members of this Society.

A. T. LEONARD, JR., M.D.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES

**Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies, A Flower from the Golden Land.**  
 By Ludwig Louis Salvator. Translated by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur.  
 Introduction by Phil Townsend Hanna. Los Angeles, Bruce Mc-  
 Allister and Jake Zeitlin, 1929. 11., xvi, 188 pp., 71. Illust. 8°.

Sixty years ago Los Angeles was a primitive village, picturesque, but somewhat squalid and almost unknown. The population, scant and chiefly Spanish, devoted itself to the siesta of the afternoon and the fandango of the evening. All other affairs were happily left to mañana. A few Americans had been interwoven into its colorful tapestry, but its history was meager and but sparsely recorded. With but little to offer to the outer world, detached and remote, Los Angeles still slumbered in a lotus-land bathed in the apricot glow of its perennial summer.

Awakening came in the centennial year of the Republic, 1876. The railroad reached Los Angeles and thereafter access became more easy and communication more direct. The population numbered about 13,000 of all complexions, Spanish, American, Mexican, Chinese, and Indian. Roused from its dreams and lethargy the population slowly but visibly began to increase. Dawn of a new day for Los Angeles had begun.

In that same year of 1876 there came to Los Angeles one Ludwig Louis Salvator, Archduke of Austria. Highly cultured scholar and scientist, he was also a trained observer, and for three years Los Angeles was his place of abode. Born near the European Mediterranean he doubtless soon recognized the analogous features of the Pacific Mediterranean and naturally he was quite at home. He had carefully recorded his impressions and observations, and upon his return to Prague in 1879 they appeared in a little volume which in his happy inspiration was entitled, *Eine Blume aus dem Goldenen Lande, oder Los Angeles*. To review the contents of this work is not necessary as few phases and features of the land and its life have escaped inclusion in the book left us by its gifted and highly-trained writer. Published in the German language and both of its editions long out of print, for many years it has remained dormant and almost unknown, although a few fragments have appeared recently in fugitive form.

It has now emerged from obscurity. A translation into English has been made by Marguerite Eyer Wilbur, whose recognized scholarship and competent ability have long been established and need no present commendation. The Introduction written for this translation by Phil Townsend Hanna forms a fitting and graceful preamble to the text.

Under its new title of "Los Angeles in the Sunny Seventies" it should become speedily well known and gratefully accepted by those who are interested in the yesterdays of Southern California. It is the fullest and most comprehensive picture of Los Angeles during that memorable decade that has come down to us.

The typographical features of the volume are handsome, and the plates as

now reproduced are quite superior to the originals, of which they are facsimiles. All of these features have been admirably accomplished by Bruce McAllister, the well-known Los Angeles printer.

In the original edition there is no index, but this deficiency is now supplied with one that is reasonably comprehensive but not unnecessarily voluminous. Mrs. Wilbur has added a series of notes of much value. This attractive and substantial volume should merit the approbation of all who are interested in the history of California.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

**A Short History of California.** By Rockwell D. Hunt and Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez. New York, Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1929  
xiv+671 pp., maps and 14 illust. 8°.

A place has been waiting on our bookshelves for a short, readable, comprehensive history of California. The book is here and will repay its readers with the clear impressions it will leave of the days of Spanish and Mexican occupation, of the American conquest and formation of the State, of the "Days of Gold" and the ensuing hectic development, of the settling into normal life with the stupendous agricultural response to irrigation, of the discovery of oil, and of the present day when California is sending cotton and cantaloupes, citrus and deciduous fruits and the products of mines and factories, in ships and by trainloads, to the four quarters of the earth. Of these and of the social and political life which were the accompaniments this history treats in due proportion.

The first half, up to the American occupation, is written by Mrs. Sanchez and is the product of original research, enriched by excerpts from unpublished Spanish documents. She tells more than other historians of the intimate life of the people; of their homes, dress, food, education, amusements, family and social relations.

An authority on Indian and Spanish place names, she justifies anew our struggle to retain them. She says of those of Spanish origin: "Their importance in historical significance can scarcely be over-estimated. . . . They are like a series of guide-posts, tracing the course of Spanish empire as it took its way along the coast, then into the interior valley, then up the slope of the Sierra Nevada."

But we are indebted to Spain for a larger heritage than that of place names. "Never did a mother country," Mrs. Sanchez says, "leave a more permanent heritage of its own peculiar features to its colonies than did Spain." In words in common use, in architecture, law, agricultural industries, customs, Californians can trace back to Spanish roots, but our most priceless inheritance, "is the vast collection of documentary records, covering the entire Spanish-Mexican periods. . . . No other state in the Union is so rich in governmental reports and personal memoirs, and to their writers is due an eternal debt."

Dr. Hunt takes up the story with American Pioneers and Pathfinders. He follows with the American Conquest, Men and Days of Forty-nine, Vigilante



Days, The Development of Commerce and Agriculture, Railroads and Political Activities. Chinese, Indians and Japanese have each a chapter. Civil War Days and the Great War have their places and the Filibusters make an interesting chapter. Material Progress and Cultural Development logically close this section. The last is of all the chapters the least happy in treatment. It bears marks of haste, and its list of writers, artists and actors are surprising, both in exclusions and inclusions. Music as a fine art gets only two lines which relate to the symphony concerts in Hollywood Bowl.

The condensation required to fit the contents of two large volumes into one of moderate size must have been painful to both authors; but they have achieved an informative, interesting and well-balanced book, suitable alike for the general reader or for schools. Lists of the Governors of California under the three régimes, of the Missions and their founders, of the United States Senators from California, of the counties and their seats, and an excellent index add to its value, and there is a copious bibliography at the end of each chapter.

H. T. P.

### The series, California.

The Powell Publishing Company of Los Angeles is now issuing a notable series of nine books on California. Six of these pertain directly to California history, one deals with natural history, one with songs and stories, and one with the people as they live today. The titles and authors are as follows:

*Pathfinders*, by Robert Glass Cleland.

*Spanish Arcadia*, by Mrs. Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez.

*The Great Trek*, and *Gold Days*, by Owen Cochran Coy.

*Oxcart to Airplane*, by Rockwell D. Hunt and William S. Ament.

*March of Industry*, by Robert Glass Cleland.

*Land of Homes*, by Frank J. Taylor.

*Songs and Stories*, compiled by Edwin Markham.

*Outdoor Heritage*, by Harold Child Bryant.

The treatment of the historical subjects is popular and romantic with emphasis upon anecdote and episode rather than upon comprehensiveness and perspective. The publishers have avoided footnotes, and while terminal bibliographies are given, there is no way of checking to these references from the text. This would seem a fault to those who must delve into sources, a virtue to those who do not wish distraction in the continuity of reading. It might be interesting to know what class of reader is in the majority.

It would be difficult to find a group of authors more suited to their several tasks. All are authorities in their field and all have the happy gift of turning their pens to popular writing.

Further notice of a number of these interesting books will appear in the next issue of this *Quarterly*.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

**Cornelius Cole, California Pioneer and United States Senator. A study in personality and achievements bearing upon the growth of a commonwealth. By Catherine Coffin Phillips. San Francisco: Printed by John Henry Nash, 1929. vii, 379 pp. Ports. Facs. Geneal. table. 4°.**

In her study of the life and activities of Cornelius Cole, Catherine Coffin Phillips has devised a definite plan which has been followed consistently. Her preface is adequate and lucid: "This volume presumes to furnish only the canvas and frame for the portrait of himself, which Cornelius Cole has given the world in his own words and deeds. Only those events have been touched upon which are essential as background for a true and consistent characterization . . ." The portrait upon that canvas has been drawn by a skillful hand; the colors have been deftly spread, and the frame has been chosen with care and discrimination.

Cornelius Cole, born in the State of New York in 1822, was descended from Dutch ancestors, one of whom came to America in 1633. His education was of the rigid classical course then in vogue. His alma mater was Wesleyan University, and in 1847 he was graduated with honors. He immediately entered the law-office of William H. Seward, where he received a sound legal training.

The news of the gold-discovery in California was far-reaching, and in February, 1849, Cole with companions formed one of the many overland companies whose chief objectives were California and gold. After many adventures, mishaps and hardships, they arrived at the Sacramento River, July 23, 1849.

In the mines he and his party had some success, but in 1850 he returned to San Francisco, where he resumed the legal profession. Again his sojourn was brief, for his thoughts were in far-off New York, where a cultured, gentle girl, Olive Colegrove, anxiously and expectantly awaited him. The long journey by way of the Chagres route was made in 1852, and upon her arrival in San Francisco the wedding took place, and soon thereafter they went to Sacramento. Here he was associated with the railroad builders; was for a time an undaunted journalist; in 1856 was one of the organizers of the Republican party in California; was always consistently opposed to slavery; was a supporter of the Vigilance Committee; served as district attorney of Sacramento; and through all continued his extensive legal work.

Cole's public life as Congressman and Senator representing California began in 1863 and continued for ten years. During the Civil War he sustained an active political part, and he now became intimately associated with Lincoln. Later as Senator he was associated with his great preceptor Seward in the purchase of Alaska. He was also a powerful factor in the exposure of revenue and whiskey frauds, and a consistent opponent of the plot by the railroad magnates to acquire Goat Island for their terminal project. Cole had many friends, but he had also many adroit and unscrupulous enemies. He survived that long and stormy decade and lived for another half-century. At the expiration of his Senatorship he passed into private life and thereafter his political activities were regarant rather than militant.

His second half-century was passed in Southern California, where his habits of industry, always consistent, were continued to the end, which came in 1924. The gracious, gentle one who for more than three-score years had been his unwavering counsel and comfort, had gone on before in 1919.

In that century throughout which Cole lived were some of the most momentous events that have yet been recorded in the history of man. The great western migration with its colossal results; the discovery of gold in California which changed the financial economy of the entire world; the sanguinary contest of the North and South for a principle of right; the World War wherein the fiercest and most destructive of mankind's contending passions were unleashed; and finally, there was the peaceful conquest of the forces of Nature out of which have been evolved new wonders in science and mechanics.

The author has drawn together many of the scattered threads of the history of earlier days, and her newly woven fabric is an important contribution. With the life and actions of the subject there are ingeniously injected features of drama, humor and pathos. The life of Senator Cole was one of conspicuous dignity to which the author has added the last touch and rendered the final note of tribute. This has been accomplished naturally and with no intimation of exaggerated awe. The result is a volume which is inviting and readable. The frank brutalities which disfigure many modern biographies have found no place in this work. The author would seem to know the terse and appropriate remark of grim Thomas Carlyle: "There are some things which it were of interest not to state."

The book itself is a fresh and superb expression of the genius of John Henry Nash. The frontis-portrait is an etching by William Wilke from a bas-relief by Alexander Stirling Calder. The text is amply supplemented by numerous portraits, views and facsimiles, many of which have not heretofore appeared, and to the work there is appended a well-made and thoroughly comprehensive index.

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

**Early Days at the Mission San Juan Bautista.** By Isaac L. Mylar. Watsonville, California, published by the Evening Pajaronian, 1929. 8vo., 195 pp., illust.

A notice pasted into the front cover of this book states that these reminiscences, which first appeared in Mr. James G. Piratsky's *Evening Pajaronian*, are here offered in an edition of 300 autographed copies. As a further temptation to the collector, the foreword carries the implication that Mr. Mylar's narrative was dictated to the editor, who endeavored to preserve the story without embellishment.

The account begins with the author's arrival in California across the plains, in 1852, at the age of five, and his experiences as the youngest crevice miner and poultry-raiser in Placer County during his tender years. Mylar's father settled for a time at Shaw's Flat, on Table Mountain, where he became ac-

quainted with "an energetic young miner known as Jim Fair, afterwards Senator James Fair," who becoming rich, remarked that he "would never be traced by the quarters he dropped."

In 1855 the Mylars purchased a quarter section of land at San Juan, where Isaac Mylar grew to manhood and has since resided. During his boyhood the Mission was still governed by the friars, Ubach and Valentin Closa, and in the village lived Patrick Breen of Donner-diary fame, who owned the adobe house of General Castro. In the grammar school — which ran only as long as the yearly funds held out — "the pupil or his parent had to make his own desk," and the number and variety of the teachers almost equalled that of the furniture, the text-books, and the scholars — "Spanish, American, Mexicans and Chilenoes; in fact, almost every nationality on the globe except Chinese and Japanese." The manner of school discipline was also novel. In the neighboring town of Castroville, teacher Tom Clay pulled two six-shooters and laid them fondly on the edge of his desk with a remark to the effect that if any of the young hellions started to run *him* out there might be a few less pupils but he meant to stay.

So on through the book there are anecdotes of nearly all the early characters of the district, descriptions of the stores and dwellings, the quick-silver mine affairs, the great ranch of Flint, Bixby and Hollister, the Spitts-Bixby duel, doctors and lawyers, hotels, stage-drivers and stage-robbers, drouth, smallpox and religion, down to the advent of the railroad and the small farmer—all somewhat rambling, but sparkling with the idiom and humor of a period and a people now trampled, by the rapid march of events, into the dust of time.

C. L. C.

**Our Sea Saga, the Wood Wind Ships.** Compiled and edited, with an introduction, by E. O. Sawyer. Privately printed, San Francisco, 1929. Illust., 205 pp.

In this volume Mr. Sawyer has collected and reprinted a number of important and little known articles on the sailing ships of the great era of American seamanship. Illustrated with reproductions of old prints of ships and famous masters, the compilation presents a complete picture of the rise and fall of the clippers and packets, including a chapter on the cruise of the Confederate raider *Alabama*, to which more than to any other single factor seems due the end of the American merchant marine. Of particular interest to Californians is the reprinting of an article from *Harper's Magazine*, 1884, on "Old Time Packets and Famous Clippers" which tells of the race for speed on the California run, and of the great voyages of the *Surprise* (which sailed from New York to San Francisco in ninety-six days), the *Flying Cloud* (eighty-four days) and the *Northern Light* (seventy-seven days from San Francisco to Boston). This volume has been published largely for use in schools and colleges, and appears to fill a long-felt want.

CARL I. WHEAT.



**Pamphlets:**

**Pacific Service Magazine, published by the Pacific Gas & Electric Company, San Francisco, October, 1929.**

In this "Pioneer Number" of its magazine the Pacific Gas and Electric Company traces the story of gas and electric service in Northern California, the former from 1854, when gas was first sold in San Francisco, and the latter from 1879, when the first central station in the world was opened in that city for the distribution of electric energy. A number of excellent illustrations add to the importance of this publication.

**Early California Oval and Straight Line Post Office Cancellations. By W. Parker Lyon and Ernest Wiltsee. [Reprinted from the Collectors Club Philatelist, Vol. VIII, No. 4], October, 1929. 8 pp.**

The authors here discuss certain unusual cancellations sometimes found on envelopes from early California post offices. Stamps were often unprocurable and the amount paid was stamped or written on the envelope by hand. Certain of these unusual cancellations are among the most valuable of American philatelic rarities.

**When the Pack Mule Express Was the United States Mail. By Ernest Wiltsee. [Reprinted from the Collectors Club Philatelist, Vol. VIII, No. 2] April, 1929. 9 pp.**

The rarest "Western Express" franks are declared by this writer to be the handstamps employed by the small, early, pack-mule "express companies" which delivered letters from the important "base towns" such as Sacramento, Marysville and Stockton to the actual mines. The official mail service was slow, inefficient and unreliable, and for a number of years these private "expresses" did a land-office business. A number of interesting examples of their "franks" are illustrated.

**Prehistoric Rock Basins in the Sierra Nevada of California. By George W. Stewart. [Reprinted from the American Anthropologist, Vol. 31, No. 3], July-September, 1929. 11 pp.**

This brief article deals with the as yet unsolved riddle of certain smoothly rounded basins "artfully hollowed out of the solid granite," the work of some prehistoric race, in Tulare County adjacent to the Sequoia National Park. These basins resemble the well-known Indian mortar holes but are many times larger, being from four to five feet in diameter and from six inches to a foot and six inches deep, with occasional deeper ones. No one has as yet offered a satisfactory explanation of their origin or use.

C. I. W.

## MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

The California Historical Society held a luncheon meeting on Tuesday, September 24, 1929, at the Clift Hotel. The speaker was Professor Edmond O'Neill, his topic, "The History of the Oil Industry in California."

After telling of the early contacts with oil seepages in rather widely separated localities, he gave a brief account of the early fields of real exploitation, with their accompanying incorporations and public excitement. He then traced the steps of increased production and the, not always parallel, development of market through new uses. When oil was first found in California, kerosene was the derivative most in demand. Kerosene made from California oil did not burn as well as the eastern made product. But the advent of the gas engine to consume the lighter products and the use of the residuum for fuel oil in steam boilers opened the door for the enormous expansion that has since taken place. The speaker gave some statistical information to indicate the accelerated pace at which production and consumption had advanced. There were thirty-six members and guests present.

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The Society held a luncheon meeting at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, October 22, 1929, at which the speaker was Professor W. L. Jepson. He addressed the meeting on "The California Journal of Archibald Menzies, Surgeon and Botanist on Vancouver's Voyage."\*

After describing the journal in its scope and as a supplement to Vancouver's account of the voyage, the speaker gave a brief account of Menzies himself, of his appointment to the post through the influence of Sir Joseph Banks, the head of Kew Gardens who molded them in the form which has since been preserved, and of the further light on the voyage contained in Menzies' letters to Sir Joseph, copies of which he had obtained. He told how he had been brought in contact with both Journal and correspondence through seeking more information concerning specimens of manzanita and its habitat that Menzies sent home, than was available in the notes on the herbarium card.

The name of Menzies has been perpetuated by having various plants named for him, notably our madrone, *Arbutus Menziesii*, a fitting monument to the first trained botanist to study our flora.

Professor Jepson exhibited photographs of portraits of Menzies and Sir Joseph Banks.

There were thirty members and guests present.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

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\* This journal, with an Introduction and notes by Miss Alice Eastwood, was printed in the *Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 4, January, 1924.

At the meeting held on November 26, Mr. Douglas S. Watson, well known for his writings on early California history, spoke to over sixty members of the Society and their guests on the subject "Yerba Buena's Village Days." Hon. James D. Phelan acted as chairman of the meeting and, in his happy manner, introduced the speaker to his audience.

Mr. Watson vividly painted the picture of the infant settlement, explaining the physical characteristics of the cove and the adjacent land, and narrating interesting and often amusing happenings in which such men as Captain W. A. Richardson, the father of Yerba Buena, Jacob Primer Leese, William D. M. Howard, Juan Fuller, Captain Jean Vioget — he who made the first survey and map of Yerba Buena — and Andrew Hoeppner, a roving German, equally fond of music and food, appeared and played their parts.

Mr. Watson laid emphasis on a fact that is often lost sight of, namely, Yerba Buena was never a Spanish settlement. It started as an Anglo-Saxon village peopled by men from northern climes.

CHARLES P. CUTTEN.

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### NEW MEMBERS

Adams, Mrs. Jewett W., San Francisco  
Baldwin, Charles H., San Francisco  
Braly, Miss Elizabeth M., Pasadena  
Conway, G. R. G., Mexico City  
DuFour, Clarence John, Alameda  
Frost, Donald McKay, Boston, Massachusetts  
Gibson, Mrs. Thomas E., San Francisco  
Haber, Joseph L., San Francisco  
Hanna, Phil Townsend, Los Angeles  
Jones, Madison Ralph, Oakland  
Merritt, Walle, Los Angeles  
Miner, Dan S., Los Angeles  
Scott, Mrs. Olivia Castro, Piedmont  
Smith, Robert Hays, Burlingame  
Stanton, Mrs. Lewis E., San Francisco  
Stow, Miss Nellie, San Francisco  
Strassburger, Lawrence, San Francisco  
Toulmin, Mrs. Henry W., Monterey  
Williams, Stephen, San Francisco



## IN MEMORIAM

JOHN BOLTON FARISH

July 3, 1854 — November 14, 1929

John Bolton Farish was born in San Francisco, on the southern slope of Telegraph Hill, on July 3, 1854. His mother, Mary Wren Prather, and his father, Adam Thomas Farish, were both from old Virginia families.

His father, in charge of a caravan of over sixty covered wagons and numbering some 300 men, came to California in 1849, and was followed, in 1852, by his mother, who, with his six older brothers and sisters, crossed the Isthmus of Panama. The father became a prominent wool merchant in San Francisco. On September 14, 1877, John Bolton Farish married Etta Louisa Paddock, a descendant of the Paddock family of Rome, New York, and the Martin family of Rhode Island.

John Farish was educated at the non-sectarian City College in San Francisco. When about sixteen years of age, due to the financial reverses of his father, he went to work in the Sierra Butte Mine at the invitation of his elder brother, William A. Farish, who was at that time manager of this property. He stayed there nearly a year and then returned to San Francisco to study assaying and geology. Later his brother William, following the strikes of those days, went to Lead, South Dakota, where in 1878 he built the Father De Smet stamp mill. From there he went to Leadville, Colorado, where, after considerable urging, John Farish joined him in 1879, and started the first assay office in that early-day camp. In 1883 John Farish established his home in Denver, Colorado, which was the family home until 1913, when he returned to San Francisco.

During his active professional career, Mr. Farish examined and operated mining properties throughout the United States, Mexico and Canada, and also in Russia, Hungary and Japan. He maintained offices in Denver and New York until his retirement, and at the time of his greatest activity had offices also in Mexico City and London.

At the time of his passing he was a member of the American Institute of Mining and Metallurgical Engineers, the Mining and Metallurgical Society of America, the Bohemian Club of San Francisco, the Family Club of San Francisco, the Commonwealth Club of California, the Society of California Pioneers, and the California Historical Society. For many years he was prominent in the activities of the Denver Club in Denver, and of the Metropolitan Club in New York. He made frequent contributions to the Metropolitan Museum of Art and to the American Museum of Natural History, as well as to different musical and artistic organizations in San Francisco.

He died at his home in San Francisco on November 14, 1929. He is survived by two daughters, Mrs. A. H. Collbran and Mrs. J. S. Collbran, both of Berkeley, California, and a son, George Edwin Farish, of New York and San Francisco.

FRANK P. DEERING.